# Administration and Law in the Tibetan Empire:

# The *Section on Law and State* and its Old Tibetan Antecedents

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# Abstract

Administration and Law in the Tibetan Empire: the *Section on Law and State* and its Old Tibetan Antecedents. Submitted by Brandon Dotson of Wolfson College for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity Term 2006.

The present study consists of a full translation and analysis of the three main versions of the *Section on Law and State*, a chapter on Tibetan imperial law and administration found in the mid-16th century *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba, and in the *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* of Mkhas-pa Lde'u and the *Chos 'byung chen po bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* of Lde'u Jo-sras, which both date to the mid to late-13th century.

While the post-dynastic Tibetan historical tradition attributes this entire body of legal and administrative reforms to Emperor Srong-btsan Sgam-po (c.605-649), the individual legal and administrative catalogues contained in the *Section on Law and State*, when subjected to close analysis, can be dated to several different periods. The principal aim of this analysis is to underline the early Tibetan antecedents for the catalogues contained in the *Section on Law and State*. By relating the catalogues of the *Section on Law and State* to Old Tibetan sources, this analysis describes in detail the legal and administrative practices of the Tibetan Empire (c.600-c.850). Among the topics covered by this analysis are historical geography and the 'nationalisation' of clan territory, social stratification, technological innovation and legal culture. The *Section on Law and State* is not limited solely to law and administration, however, and also offers insights regarding cultural institutions such as religious practices and Tibetan funerary culture.

Taken together, the scattered and fragmentary catalogues that make up the *Section on Law and State*, many of which ultimately derive from manuals and official records from the imperial period, constitute a rare juridical corpus of the Tibetan Empire. As such, it furnishes important and detailed information about the legal and administrative culture of the Tibetan Empire, and constitutes a fundamental source for Tibetan social history. The preservation of such documents within Tibet's post-dynastic religious histories underlines the persistence of Tibetan political theory, according to which divine rulers, Buddhist or otherwise, must govern according to the just traditions of their forebears.

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## Editing conventions

The three main versions of the *Section on Law and State* are presented side by side in both translation and transliteration, and followed by commentary. Tibetan text is transliterated according to the method devised by Nebesky-Wojkowitz and popularised by Wiley, with one exception. I have transliterated the Tibetan term for the people living between China and Tibet during the 7th century (Chinese: *Tuyuhun*) as *'A-zha* and not as *'-zha*. This is obviously not meant to indicate the '*a-chen*' prefixed by the so-called '*a-chung*'; it is simply the easiest way to capitalise an ethnonym, and follows the practice of numerous other scholars.

I have kept editing to a minimum, only making corrections where they are necessary to the meaning of a passage. *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* have only been published in printed book form, and these capital-letter (*dbu-can*) publications were based on *dbu-med* originals. I was only able to gain limited access to the *Lde'u* manuscript, and was unable to consult the *Jo sras* manuscript. This being the case, heavy editing of these texts is premature until the originals are available. The publications are full of errors, however, and I have tried to rectify some of them. *Jo sras* was lightly edited by Chos-'dzoms, and his emendations are given here in footnotes. The same holds true for the light editing done in *Lde'u* by Chab-spel Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs and Nor-brang O-rgyan. The paragraph setting and spacing in their versions is retained as well. *KhG* is far more straightforward, and hardly any correction is needed in presenting its passages. Where readings and corrections are involved in the treatment of text, the actual reading is placed in brackets following my gloss. For example, '*gnyen* [*gnyan*]' indicates that I have corrected the original, which reads 'wild sheep' (*gnyan*), to the

intended meaning of relative' (*gnyen*). In other cases, glosses have been placed in footnotes.

Numbers inside of braces, e.g. '{3.1.1}', refer to the portion of the *Section on Law and State* corresponding to the composite outline (*infra*).

In presenting Old Tibetan text, I have transliterated the text as it appears in the original documents and made as few corrections as possible in order to retain the older orthographies and irregularities. The original spacing is also retained, as in, for example, '*lastsogste*', instead of '*la stsogs ste*'. Further conventions are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| *I* | Reverse *gi-gu*. |
| *M* | Abbreviated *m* with a superscribed circle. |
| 1,2,3, | Tibetan numerals in the original are transliterated with roman numerals. |
| [+-#] | Approximate number of syllables missing due to damage in the original. |
| : | Phrase-ending *shad* in revealed 'treasure' (*gter-ma*) texts. |
| [abc] | Letters missing or illegible but reliably construed from context. |
| [abc] | Intentional deletions in the original. |
| abc$^{abc}$abc | Text intercalated above line. |
| abc$_{abc}$abc | Text intercalated below line. |

## Abbreviations

***AFL*:** THOMAS, F.W. 1957. *Ancient Folk Literature from Northeastern Tibet*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

***Bka' chems ka khol ma*:** ATIŚA (*gter-ston*), Smon-lam Rgya-mtsho (ed.). Lanzhou: Kan-su'u mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1989.

***BK*:** U-RGYAN GLING-PA (*gter-ston*); *Rgal po'i bka' thang yig*. *In Bka' thang sde lnga*. Lhasa: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1997.

*Bkah-thang-sde-lnga. Dgah-ldan-phun-tshogs-glin edition.* Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, Śatapiṭaka Series v. 307, New Delhi, 1982.

***CDT1&2*:** SPANIEN, A. AND Y. IMAEDA (*eds*). 1978, 1979 (Tomes 1 and 2). *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale: complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India office et du British Museum*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.

***CDT3&4*:** IMAEDA, Y. AND T. TAKEUCHI *et al* (*eds*). 1990, 2001 (Tomes 3 and 4). *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale: complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum: Corpus syllabique*. Tokyo: Institut de Recherches sur les Langues et Cultures d'Asie et d'Afrique (ILCAA), Université des Langues Étrangères de Tokyo.

***Dba' bzhed*:** WANGDU, P. AND DIEMBERGER, H. (translators). *Dba' Bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet*. Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.

***Dpe chos dang dpe chos rin chen spungs pa*:** Mgon-po Dar-rgyas (ed.). Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1991.

***DTH*:** BACOT, J., F.W. THOMAS AND C. TOUSSAINT. 1940. *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs a l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

***GK*:** O-RGYAN GLING-PA (*gter-ston*); *Rgal po'i bka' thang yig*. *In Bka' thang sde lnga*. Lhasa: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1997.

*Bkah-thang-sde-lnga. Dgah-ldan-phun-tshogs-gliṇ edition.* Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, Śatapiṭaka Series v. 307, New Delhi, 1982.

***GSM*:** BSOD-RNAM RGYAL-MTSHAN; *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Lhasa: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 2002 [1981].

**IOL Tib J**: 'IOL' indicates that the text is an Old Tibetan document from the India Office Library, kept in the British Library in London. The letters and numbers following indicate a document's shelf mark.

***Jo sras*:** LDE'U JO-SRAS; *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*, Chos-'dzoms (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun khang, 1987.

***KhG*:** DPA'-BO GTSUG-LAG PHRENG-BA; *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 1985.

*Mkhas pahi dgah ston* by Dpah-bo-gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba, Lokesh Chandra (ed.), Śatapiṭaka Series no. 9 [4], New Delhi, 1965.

***Klu 'bum nag po*:** *Gtsang ma klu 'bum chen mo. A Reproduction of a Manuscript Copy Based upon the Tāranātha Tradition of the Famed Bonpo Recitational Classic. Volume IV, Klu 'bum nag po*. (Rtag-brtan Phun-tshogs gling-based edition.) Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1977.

***Lde'u*:** MKHAS-PA LDE'U; *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, Chab-spel Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun khang, 1987.

***LDGR*:** *La dwags rgyal rabs*, Chos-'dzoms, (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987.

FRANCKE, A.H. 1926. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet. Part II, the Chronicles of Lakakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts and Translations, with Notes and Maps.* Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing.

***Li shi'i gur khang*:** SKYOGS-STON RIN-CHEN BKRA-SHIS. *Bod kyi skad las gsar rnying gi brda'i khyad par ston pa legs par bshad pa li shi'i gur khang*. Beijing: Mi-rigs dpe-skrun khang, 2005 [1981].

***Mdo sde me tog gsil ma*:** DPAL-MDZES RGYAL-MTSHAN. Reproduced from an ancient manuscript from Gemur Monastery in Lahul by Topden Tshering. Delhi, 1978.

***Nyang*:** NYANG NYI-MA 'OD-ZER; *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, Chab-spel Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun khang, 1988.

MEISEZAHL, R.O. 1985. *Die Grosse Geschichte der Tibetischen Buddhismus nach Alter Tradition*. Sank Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.

***Ne'u*:** NE'U PANDIṬA GRAGS-PA SMON-LAM BLO-GROS; *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba*. In *bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel (ed.), 1-54. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun khang, 1990.

UEBACH, H. 1987. *Nel-pa Pandita's Chronik Me-tog 'phren-ba*. München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

***OTA/ Annals***: The *Old Tibetan Annals*. The 'civil version' is comprised of PT 1288 and IOL Tib J 750, and the military version is comprised of Or. 8212 (187).

***OTC/ Chronicle***: The *Old Tibetan Chronicle*; PT 1287.

**PT**: Pelliot tibétain. The number following 'PT' indicates its shelf mark at the Bibliotheque nationale de France.

***Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa*:** TA'I SI-TU BYANG-CHUB RGYAL-MTSHAN *et al.*; *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, Chab-spel Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs (ed.). Lhasa: Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun khang, 1986.

***Royal Genealogy***: Properly a part of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*; PT 1286.

***Sba bzhed*:** STEIN, R.A. (ed.). *Une Chronique Ancienne de Bsam-Yas: Sba-Bzhed*. Paris, 1961.

***SLS***: The *Section on Law and State*.

**Tak**: The shelf marks given in TAKEUCHI 1997a and 1997b.

***TBH***: SØRENSEN, P.K. 1994. *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

***TLTD*:** THOMAS, F.W. 1935, 1951, 1955, 1963. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*. Vols I—IV. London.

# Introduction

The period of the Tibetan Empire (c.600-c.850 CE) was the most important epoch in Tibetan history. It was at this time that decentralised polities were brought together by conquest to form a massive centralised empire that constituted one of the major powers of Central Eurasia. Through acculturation and militarisation, the Tibetan Empire assimilated to their centralising project numerous previously autonomous areas, often made up of culturally disparate peoples. Tibetan imperial policies further undermined the solidarity of these subjected territories as distinct entities by imposing on them Tibet's own imperial structures. As regional clan-based political groupings gave way under the irresistible force of the empire, the local religions that reinforced regional autonomy and legitimated local rule became assimilated to a more inclusive, pan-Tibetan religion, in particular the cult of the *sku-bla*.[1] Subsequently, when Buddhism became the official religion of Tibet in the late eighth century, it endeavoured to co-opt the role of the *sku-bla* rite as the principal state ritual for instantiating power, and asserted its own ritual prerogatives.

Tibet was at its military apex during this period, and controlled a huge territory corresponding roughly to the 'Tibetan cultural area' of today, but extending even beyond that. Through conflict, trade and assimilation, the Tibetan Empire generated an explosion of creativity via contacts with its neighbours on all sides. It was a period of unparalleled innovation, during which the social, religious, political and technological foundations of Tibet's subsequent history were laid. For these

[1] On the *sku-bla*, a cult based both on mountain deities and the divine emperor, see MACDONALD 1971: 299-309, BLONDEAU 1976: 242-43 and KARMAY 1998 [1996].

reasons the Tibetan Empire has come to be regarded as a 'golden age', both inside and outside of modern Tibet.

The empire's popular resonance as a heroic era and as the font of Tibetan culture is also the source of countless projections by those who yearn for a bygone time when Tibet was master of its own destiny. The Tibetan Empire as a golden age within the popular imagination is not, however, a new idea brought on by Tibet's current political situation. The current situation has, however, given rise to some interesting uses of the empire as an arena for negotiating the present. Much like the Tibetan epic of Gesar, the Tibetan Empire is an empty signifier that can be filled according to circumstance. Just as in the modern treatment of the epic, Gesar's Chinese half-brother, Rgya-tsha, has become more prominent in order to underline an epic antecedent for Sino-Tibetan brotherhood, so in the history of the Tibetan Empire the role of the Chinese Princess Wen-ceng Kong-co, and her marriage to the Tibetan ruler, is emphasised as an early example of Sino-Tibetan partnership. In this way the mutability and shifting meaning of these two vast cultural institutions—the epic of Gesar and the Tibetan Empire—is deployed according to the modern political imperative to underline the unity of Tibet and China. Needless to say, Tibetan writers can and do emphasise aspects of the empire that may be quite apart from Sino-Tibetan unity.

The idea of Tibet's golden age has also been attractive outside of Tibet itself among non-Tibetans. This period appeals to modern non-Tibetans not so much because of their political sympathies, but due to their interest in Tibetan Buddhism. It was during the period of the Tibetan Empire that Buddhism made its first major inroads into Tibet, and it became the official state religion in the latter half of the eighth century. It was also during this time that both the Jokhang and Bsam-yas

Monastery were built, and it is the era of Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, and other Buddhist masters such as Vairocana, Vimalamitra and Namkhai Nyingpo. While the Buddhist image of the Tibetan Empire that is popular among the international followers of Tibetan Buddhism may have taken on different features as a result of their own projections about Tibet and Buddhism, the image is based almost entirely on earlier Tibetan Buddhist historiography of the empire.

## Tibetan Historiography

The mythopoeic accounts of the Tibetan Empire began even before the collapse of the empire itself. The first epic and mythic documents were probably composed towards the end of the empire: the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286) concerns the origin of the Tibetan ruler and his genealogy, and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287)—the first known Tibetan epic history—is a heroic retelling of the deeds of famous emperors and ministers. This early mythography was not, however, entirely secular: the genealogies and narratives belie a structural and stylistic symmetry with ritual narratives and genealogies employed by Tibet's non-Buddhist ritual specialists. When Buddhism was declared the official religion in the second half of the eighth century, Khri Srong-lde-btsan (reigned 756-c.800) commissioned an officially sanctioned history of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet.[2] This and numerous other pious edicts, some of which were inscribed on stone pillars, glorify the earlier emperors who promoted Buddhism mainly through the construction of temples. Other official

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[2] I refer to the second edict (*bka'-gtsigs*) of Khri Srong-lde-btsan preserved in *KhG*: 373-76. For a translation of this edict, see RICHARDSON 1998 [1980]: 89-99, and COBLIN 1989. On the dates of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's reign, see *infra*, Appendix One.

histories of the late imperial period, such as the non-extant *Thang yig chen mo* of Ldan-ma Rtse-mang, furthered the genre of Tibetan religious histories.

After the collapse of the empire and the intervening dark age, or ‘period of fragments’ (*Bod sil-bu*), as it is known in Tibet, Tibet’s historiographers—almost exclusively monks—eulogised the empire as the model of Tibetan political unity and venerated it as the period in which Buddhism first civilised Tibet. At this time small polities grew up around newly emerging monastic centres as Buddhism’s ‘embers were rekindled’ (*me-ro langs*), leading to the later diffusion of Buddhism (*phyi-dar*). Between the late imperial period and Buddhism’s ‘rise from the ashes’, the history of Buddhism in Tibet became calcified into a basic narrative format. Heterogeneous documents were brought into a diachronic narrative in which the main protagonists were essentially Spyan-ras-zigs (Avalokiteśvara) and Tibet, his special field of enlightened activity. The basic outline of Tibet’s later religious histories is also present in the Dunhuang manuscripts of the ‘Prophecy of the Arhat of the Li Country’ (*Li yul gyi dgra bcom pas lung bstan pa*), a document of apparent Khotanese origin that was translated into both Chinese and Tibetan, and which dates to no later than the mid-9th century (URAY 1979: 288-89). While this may therefore appear to be a borrowed concept, it preserved continuity with what seem to be earlier conceptions of the divine kingship that emphasise Tibet’s status as the chosen realm of a god who descended from heaven to rule both men and beasts.[3] The post-dynastic religious histories (post 9th century CE) also adapted much of their content from earlier narrative histories such as the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the *Thang yig chen mo* and

[3] While it is assumed that this ‘indigenous’ model of divine kingship preceded the concept of the ruler as *bodhisattva*, which dates back to the imperial period, there was most certainly a good deal of mutual influence in the formulation of these ideas within Tibetan political theory. In the documents that survive, the ‘indigenous’ model of divine kingship and the model of the ruler as *bodhisattva* may even be said to be co-emergent. Cf. STEINKELLNER 1999: 258-60.

other semi-official and non-official histories. Embellishments were easily added to this basic structure, and the development of such embellishments can be seen, for example, in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (hereafter abbreviated *GSM*) composed by Bla-ma Dam-pa Bsod-rnam Rgyal-mtshan in 1368, to name one thoroughly elaborated and highly influential history.[4]

The main shift in historiography, as mentioned, was the foregrounding of Avalokiteśvara as the patron deity of Tibet and the main agent in Tibet's conversion to Buddhism. As such, Srong-btsan Sgam-po (c.605-649), the second pan-Tibetan ruler, was presented as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, and his life history became the focus of a concerted narrative effort on the part of early hagiographers. Though some modern scholars have been quick to dismiss the identification of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara as a late and pious fiction, it is certain that Tibetan sovereigns were identified as *bodhisattvas* prior to the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, and that they modelled themselves after the *cakravartin* ideal.[5] The later historiographers not only embellished the Buddhist aspects of Srong-btsan Sgam-po that were already current at the time of their writing, but also brought characters and events to life through various narrative devices well-known to them through the Tibetan epic and folk traditions and both Indian and Chinese historiographical traditions.[6] The literary creation of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara appears to have begun in earnest in the eleventh

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[4] For a thorough study of this text and an excellent survey of Tibetan Buddhist historiography in general, see SØRENSEN 1994, hereafter abbreviated *TBH*.

[5] For a good survey of Old Tibetan inscriptional and textual sources that identify Tibetan rulers as *bodhisattvas*, see STEINKELLNER 1999: 258-59. SNELLGROVE (1987: 454-55), proceeding partly by analogy with the Khmer rulers, suggests that Srong-btsan Sgam-po may have been identified with Avalokiteśvara as early as the late eighth century. On the Tibetan ruler as *cakravartin* in the context of temple building, see KAPSTEIN 2004: 110.

[6] VAN DER KUIJP (1996: 40) notes the resemblance of some Tibetan historical works to Indi*an vaṃśāvalī*.

century. Srong-btsan Sgam-po was certainly viewed as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara by the time of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*. According to tradition, Atiśa revealed this text in 1048, but it is likely that most of the composition dates to the mid to late twelfth century (DAVIDSON 2003: 78). Srong-btsan Sgam-po's Buddhist hagiography was further developed in the mid-twelfth century *Ma ni bka' 'bum* (KAPSTEIN 2000: 144-55).[7]

As with all forms of historiography, a Tibetan religious history makes a claim to orthodoxy and reinforces the world-view of its author(s). The authors' imperatives, such as the promotion and defence of their own doctrinal traditions, are often made explicit in chapters devoted to doctrinal exegesis. In their narration of history, however, the authors' imperatives are only implicit, and are sometimes deeply embedded in the text. One of the most traditional points at which to view an author's political imperatives is in the treatment of the sovereign's status vis-à-vis his priest(s). This question relates, of course, also to the patron-priest relationship (*yon-mchod*), which served as a highly problematic model for Tibet's international relations for much of the post-imperial period (SEYFORT RUEGG 1997). Early Tibetan historiography emerged during the 'period of fragments' and the beginning of the second diffusion of Buddhism, when small polities, often based on traditional clan alliances, grew in tandem with new or renovated Buddhist centres. The spiritual and the secular were often intertwined, with posts such as political leader and abbot held by the same ruling family. The dynamics of this relationship were such that each served to instantiate the power of the other, and so models of kingship were informed by Buddhist ideals. The influence of Buddhism on concepts of kingship is largely

[7] On the development of these histories and the genealogy of this myth, see *TBH*: 14-27, where Sørensen proposes earlier dates for the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*.

responsible for the development of the tradition of Tibet's 'three religious kings', or the *mes-dbon gsum*, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, Khri Srong-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can (reigned 815-841), and their assimilation to the three protectors (*rigs-gsum mgon-po*), Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāni.

In terms of gauging a text's political imperatives concerning the appropriate relationship between patron and priest, or, to put it in a more comparative or caste-based perspective, between kings and priests, it must be remembered that the authors of Tibetan religious histories are almost always monks. The same principle holds true for reading the political theory embedded in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, a document composed within the tradition of the emperor's court, and which therefore has a strong bias in favour of the emperor. This being said, however, there is a good deal of nuance within the various post-dynastic religious histories. The description of the relationship between ruler and priest in post-dynastic histories has been noticed before in the context of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's first meeting with Padmasambhava, and specifically in the rules of precedence governing who should bow to whom (*KhG*: 321; WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 54, n. 152). As the chapters of the post-dynastic histories examined here relate mainly to Srong-btsan Sgam-po, it seems more appropriate to use an example from this king's life history to demonstrate the orientations of the various authors. I employ three main post-dynastic histories in my analysis. The first two, the *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* of Mkhas-pa Lde'u (hereafter abbreviated *Lde'u*), and the *Chos 'byung chen po bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* of Lde'u Jo-sras (hereafter, *Jo sras*), were composed in the same milieu, most likely in the mid-thirteenth century.[8] The third source is the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (hereafter,

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[8] The two texts may even have been composed by the same author. For a discussion of the authorship and dating of these two texts see VAN DER KUIJP 1992 and KARMAY 1998 [1994]: 291-92.

*KhG*), a monumental religious history composed in Lho-brag by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba between 1545 and 1564. Each of these three main sources contains a passage describing an iconic meeting between Srong-btsan Sgam-po and a monk or monks. In *KhG*, Srong-btsan Sgam-po encounters a haggard-looking foreign monk at the stūpa at Khra-'brug Monastery, and an initial matter of paying due respect quickly escalates into a contest in magico-spiritual power. The emperor displays himself as a manifestation of eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, only to have the monk one-up him by revealing an entire lineage tree emanating from his chest (SØRENSEN AND HAZOD 2005: 145-46). Here it is obviously the lowly monk who reveals himself as the true inheritor of the Buddha's teachings, and indeed as one worthy of respect and worthy of offerings.

The other two main sources, *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*, also contain a passage where Srong-btsan Sgam-po reveals himself as eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, this time to two Khotanese monks. It is worth noting that this passage is not found in *KhG*, nor is the passage described above found in *Lde'u* or *Jo sras*. Because of their close relation to each other, however, it is possible to read these two passages as comparable episodes illustrating their respective authors' political imperatives. In both *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*, Srong-btsan Sgam-po reveals himself to the monks as eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara after they express doubts about the emperor's status as an incarnation. Having revealed himself, Srong-btsan Sgam-po grants the monks' wish that they return to Khotan. The purpose of this episode is not to glorify the monks, but to establish Srong-btsan Sgam-po's legacy as a *dharmarāja* who rules through skilful means.

Another, no doubt earlier version of the story of these two monks is found in the *Dba' bzhed* (WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 32-33). It is also found in the *Bka'*

*chems ka khol ma* and the *Nyang-ral chos 'byung* (266-68), which cites *The Great Prophecy of the Li Country (Khotan) (Li'i lung bstan chen mo)* as its source. The narrative may therefore have its origins in *The Prophecy of the Li Country (Li'i yul lung bstan pa)*, a text that bears some relation to the Dunhuang text *The Prophecy by the Arhat of the Li Country (Li yul gyi dgra bcom bas lung bstan pa*) (EMMERICK 1967: 1). The later versions mention the Tibetan sovereign as an incarnation of a *bodhisattva*, but do not mention Avalokiteśvara by name (*TLTD1*: 79-80). While a number of monks flee to Tibet in the prophecy, and are indeed turned away after they are blamed for a deadly disease, these events are set during the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (712-c.755), and not during the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. Further, the parable of the two doubting monks is completely absent. One might therefore postulate that the story, transmitted from the time of the late empire up until the present, first grew out of the presence of a number of foreign monks in Tibet during the first half of the eighth century, and a tradition concerning the Tibetan sovereign, in this case Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan, as a *bodhisattva*. It was then elaborated as the Tibetan rulers were periodised and assimilated to the three protectors (*rigs-gsum mgon-po*), and transferred to the time of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, whose legacy as a *bodhisattva* was bolstered by his legacy as a *dharmarāja,* that is to say, a religious ruler who yoked the concepts and practices of both religion and politics. Subsequently, the story was reworked in order to transform it into an illustration of the elevated status of monks vis-à-vis the ruler.[9] This postulate is secondary, however, to the above concerns. It is the tale and its deployment in the narrative by Tibetan historiographers, and not its basis in historical events, that reveals a history's imperatives. While these

[9] This type of narrative transformation is not at all rare; for an illustration of a similar process, see DOTSON 2005-2006: 459-60.

episodes do not reveal the bedrock of their authors' political imperatives concerning the religious and the secular, let alone the specifics of such a relationship, they do underline their orientation and tell us something about their conceptual milieu.

Such histories of course serve political ends as well, as they often identify a current ruler with the enlightened Buddhist kings of the empire, and by extension with Tibet's patron deities. This can be seen explicitly in the case of G.ya-bzang-pa Chos-kyi Mon-lam (1169-1233) (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 147-49), and, most famously, the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) (ISHIHAMA 1993), each of whom made conscious efforts to identify himself with Avalokiteśvara and with Tibet's Buddhist kings, but it holds true for any number of rulers throughout Tibetan history. This tradition of appealing to the legacy of one's predecessors, or to divine precedent, is an enduring feature that informs nearly every element of Tibetan culture. In terms of the politics of historiography, it constitutes a continuous tradition of political legitimation through the glorification of one's regal predecessors. Khri Srong-lde-btsan and Khri Lde-srong-btsan (reigned c.798-815)[10] employ this strategy repeatedly in their Buddhist edicts. In their case, it is precisely at the point of departure from earlier tradition—the adoption of a new religion—at which they emphasise, or (re)invent, the Buddhist aspects of their predecessors. Legitimation through appeal to precedent was also effected in Tibetan religious histories by imputing the laws or mandates of a current ruler to a recognised and authoritative predecessor like Srong-btsan Sgam-po. Such was the case, for example, with the legal codes of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364) and those of the fifth Dalai Lama (URAY 1972a: 59). This sort of practice complicates the present study, but is a mainstay of Tibetan culture: reliance on an antecedent, preferably divine, often leads to projection of the present into the

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[10] On these dates, see *infra*, Appendix One.

past. For the historian this presents not an obstacle to inquiry, but an asset to understanding Tibetan historiography and Tibetan history, for Tibet's remarkable cultural continuity lends stability to historical investigation.

## Administration and Law in Religious Narrative

Within the body of myth surrounding Srong-btsan Sgam-po there is a striking amount of information about legal and political matters. While this may seems somewhat out of place within the context of a genre concerned primarily with Buddhist eulogising, it is in fact an essential component of the story of Buddhism's rise in Tibet. Buddhist historiographers considered law, like writing, to be a necessary prerequisite for civilising or 'taming' Tibet through Buddhism. By attributing to Srong-btsan Sgam-po numerous innovations in legal practice and statecraft, the authors therefore embellished the image of Srong-btsan Sgam-po not only as a great ruler, but also as a *dharmarāja*. The imperative to aggrandise Srong-btsan Sgam-po is largely responsible for the vastness of the catalogues on legal and political affairs, where each semi-connected part of this composite text was copied from its respective source as another offering to the legacy of this *dharmarāja*.[11]

Legislation of law and political order had been viewed as essential values in a Tibetan ruler long before they constituted part of the legacy of the religious kings of the empire as eulogised in Tibetan religious histories. Many of the earliest surviving Old Tibetan documents concerning the Tibetan ruler, the Btsan-po, glorify him because of his practice of 'good (religious) customs and great art of government'

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[11] On this Tibetan model and its Indian antecedents, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1995: 60-67, 74-76.

(*chos-bzang gtsug-lag che*).[12] In what is perhaps the most famous song of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Emperor Khri 'Dus-srong (reigned 685-704) sings a rejoinder to his overweening subject of the Mgar clan, with whom he is at war (PT 1287, ll. 456-81).[13] This song of chastisement naturalises the ruler as the source of sociocosmic harmony and as the ordering principle of the world and its well-being. The harmony between heaven and earth is not only personified in the relationship between lord and subjects, but associated with the ruler and his divine lineage. It is the Btsan-po's ancestral Phywa gods who plant the *axis mundi* that separates heaven and earth and imposes order out of chaos. This is symbolised not only by the mountain gods, but by the ruler himself and the divine order he imposes. The ruler simultaneously embodies the link between heaven and earth that is his divine privilege. Without this divine order there would be only chaos: horses would ride men, crops would cut scythes, water would run uphill, etc. It is the privileged place of the Tibetan emperor, as a son of the gods, to embody this divine principle and impose its order.

Another passage that emphasises the emperor's role as an ordering principle is found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* following an exchange of victory songs between Khri Srong-btsan (later known as Srong-btsan Sgam-po), and his prime minister, Mgar Stong-rtsan, after their defeat of Zhang-zhung.

> Above, the profound lord, Khri Srong-brtsan. Below, the wise minister Stong-rtsan yul-zung. Endowed with all the conditions of great majesty (*mnga'-thang*), the lord, [acting] in the manner of the heavenly mountain gods, and the minister, [acting] in the manner of the earthly majesty (*ngam-len*), externally increased the polity in the four directions. The internal welfare (*kha-bso*)[14] was abundant and undiminished. They created parity between the

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[12] For a discussion of these topics, see STEIN 2003 [1985]: 534-39, 560.
[13] For text, see *CD2*, pls. 574-75. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 33-35. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 161-65.
[14] The term literally means, 'to nourish mouths', which translates well enough the English 'welfare'. The term 'welfare' (*kha-bso*) may also be related to, or indeed identical with the term *khab-so*, which is found in the *Old Tibetan Annals* and other legal and bureaucratic sources, where it is most often taken

high and the low among the black-headed subjects [Tibetans]. They reduced tax fraud and created leisure. They swore [oaths] in the autumn and spring and adhered to this cycle. They gave to the needy and cut out the harmful. They employed the powerful and degraded the insolent (*sdo-ba*). They quashed the frightened and allied with the truthful. They praised the wise and respected the heroic. They employed the devoted. The customs being good and the polity lofty (*chos bzang srId mtho ste*), all men were happy.

Previously in Tibet, there was no writing, but it was during the time of this Btsan-po—from the reign of Btsan-po Khri Srong-brtsan—that the entire good basis of Tibet's customs (*bod kyi chos kyi gzhung bzang-po kun*) was created: Tibet's great legal and governmental system (*bod kyi gtsug-lag bka'-grims ched-po*), the [system of] ministerial rank, the division of ranks (*dbang-thang*) into both great and small, the rewards for the good, the punishments for the wicked and deceitful, the equal division of fields and pasturelands into *thul-ka*, *dor-ka* and *slungs*, and the standardisation of the weights and measures *bre*, *p[h]ul* and *srang*, etc. All men felt a great gratitude for his kindness and in return they called him 'Srong-brtsan the Profound' (Srong-brtsan Sgam-po).

*bla na rje sgam na / khrI srong brtsan / 'og na blon 'dzangs na stong rtsan yul zung / rje nI gnam ri pywa 'I lugs / / blon po ni sa 'I ngam len gyi tshul / / mnga' thang chen po 'i rkyen du / jI dang jir ldan te / pyi 'i chab srid nI pyogs bzhIr bskyed / / nang gI kha bso ni myi nyams par lhun stug / 'bangs mgo nag po yang mtho dman nI bsnyams / dpya' sgyu nI bskyungs / dal du nI mchis / ston dpyid nI bskyal / / 'khor bar nI spyad / 'dod pa nI byin / gnod pa nI pye / btsan ba nI bcugs / sdo ba ni smad / 'jigs pa nI mnan / / bden pa nI bsnyen / 'dzangs pa nI bstod / dpa' bo nI bkur / smon par nI bkol / / chos bzang srId mtho ste / / myI yongs kyis skyid do / / bod la snga na yI ge myed pa yang / / btsan po 'di 'I tshe byung nas / / bod kyi gtsug lag bka' grims ched po dang / blon po 'i rim pa dang / che chung gnyis kyI dbang thang dang / legs pa zin pa 'I bya dga' dang / nye yo ba 'i chad pa dang / zhing 'brog gi thul ka dang dor ka dang / slungs kyi go bar bsnyams pa dang / bre pul dang / srang la stsogs pa / / bod kyi chos kyi gzhung bzang po kun / / btsan po khri srong brtsan gyi ring las byung ngo / myi yongs kyis bka' drin dran zhing tshor bas / / srong brtsan sgam po zhes gsol to* (PT 1287, ll. 446-55).[15]

This succinct passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* holds within it the core of what would later develop into the *Section on Law and State* in post-dynastic historiography. Its contents also underline the contested nature of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's rule. In later religious histories, for example, writing is introduced mainly for the

to mean 'revenue office' in a broad sense. Alternatively, *kha-bso* may just be an error for *kha-bsod*, meaning 'good fortune'.

[15] For the Tibetan text, see *CD2*, pl. 574. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 33-34. For a French translation of this passage that differs considerably from my own, see *DTH:* 160-61.

sake of translating Buddhist texts, and most histories devote a chapter to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's mission to India and his development of Tibetan script and grammar.[16] In the second paragraph above, however, writing is related not to religion (*chos*), but to customs (*chos*), good government and law (*gtsug-lag bka'-khrims*).[17] With the growth of Buddhism as the dominant religion after its 'rise from the ashes', Tibet's historians, who had access to documents very similar to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle,* if not variants of the *Chronicle* itself, increasingly interpreted the invention of writing, and indeed most of the deeds of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, in the context of Buddhism (*chos*), and less in relation to customs or tradition (*chos*). His status as a cultural, legal and governmental innovator thus became subordinate to his status as a pre-eminently religious ruler, and good customs and a lofty polity (*chos bzang srId mtho*) gave way to the unity of politics and (Buddhist) religion (*chos srid zung-'brel*).[18]

The re-casting of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as a religious ruler and founding father of Buddhism in Tibet did not eradicate his legacy as an administrator. In fact, the two legacies are not only intertwined in that they are viewed by Tibet's historians as complementary, but, as Uray has shown, and as we will demonstrate again and again, aspects of the tradition of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as great administrator may be as much a pious fiction as aspects of the tradition of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as *dharmarāja*. The changing face of the ruler's depiction in this case reflects only the changing face of Tibetan ideological convictions and political imperatives.

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[16] See, for example, *GSM* in *TBH* (176-78). Significantly, the *SLS* or a similar such chapter usually follows the account of Thon-mi's invention of Tibetan writing in Tibetan Buddhist histories.
[17] For an extensive discussion of the translation of *chos* as 'customs' in the context of this and other similar formulas in Old Tibetan documents, and for an explanation of *gtsug-lag*, see STEIN 2003 [1985], especially 534-42. See also HAHN 1997, which, although persuasive on linguistic grounds, does nothing to clarify this pivotal phrase.
[18] This latter term was not employed until somewhat later, but the ideas to which it refers go back to early times.

## Approaching the *Section on Law and State*

Though I refer to the *Section on Law and State* as a single document, it is in fact only a chapter, and one that is found in numerous texts. The three most elaborated extant versions overlap to the degree that they can be regarded as essentially the same text, and it is this text that constitutes the main object of this study. The most complete version is found in *Lde'u*, and a shorter version is found in *Jo sras*, which, as mentioned above, was most likely composed in the mid-thirteenth century in the same milieu as *Lde'u*. A long and highly elaborated version of the *SLS*, based mainly on *Lde'u*, is found in *KhG*, a famous history composed by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba between 1545 and 1564.

Though the highly elaborated *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* took *Lde'u* as its main source, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag used a different structure in his chapter, and even placed certain portions of *Lde'u*'s *Section on Law and State* in a separate chapter entirely.[19] *Jo sras* follows the same basic structure found in *Lde'u*, but tends to be laconic where *Lde'u* provides more detail. Even so, *Jo sras* contains some important information that is not found in *Lde'u*. The characteristic differences in the three main sources can be best summarised as follows: while *Jo sras* is brief, *Lde'u* is more detailed and *KhG* is generally more elaborated.

The *Section on Law and State* in both *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* has been outlined in detail in UEBACH 1989, and this outline is adapted here. URAY (1972a) also provided a detailed outline of the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* in his famous treatment of the text. Uebach followed Uray in referring to the lists of various official structures and practices as 'catalogues', and this convention is retained here.

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[19] UEBACH (1989: 830-31) demonstrated that the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* was based mostly on that in *Lde'u,* and the present work certainly supports her argument.

As mentioned already, *KhG*'s *Section on Law and State* was based largely on that of *Lde'u*. For this reason, and for ease of presentation, the structure of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* is retained in ordering the various catalogues in the *SLS*. The catalogues in *KhG*, which fit a different schema, are here made to conform to the structure of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*.[20] This enables a presentation and analysis of each individual catalogue of the *SLS* in its three main versions. In this way, the parallel catalogues and narratives of the three versions of the *SLS* can be read side by side. In the main text, each individual catalogue of the *SLS* is introduced, and then presented in its three main versions, first in translation, then in transliteration. The passage is then analysed and compared with parallel or similar passages in both Old Tibetan and post-dynastic sources.

These three main sources have all been published as printed books. While this makes them easily accessible, these publications, as transcriptions of original texts, admit a number of errors. In the case of *KhG*, while the page numbers of the Beijing edition are cited for ease of reference, the transliterated text is in fact that of the Delhi edition held by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center. This version has the same page setting as the Śatapiṭaka edition, with which it is virtually identical.[21] It is evident from a close comparison of the passages in the Beijing printed book version with those of the Delhi edition that many of the errors contained in the former are due to the editor's 'corrections'. This unfortunate practice of 'correcting' the original in the printed book versions is a terrible methodological error that plagues many of the works published by the Dpe-rnying dpe-mdzod-khang in Lhasa. Among the texts that

[20] While this certainly does some violence to the structure of the *SLS* as it is preserved in *KhG*, this document, its contents and structure, have all been closely scrutinised in URAY 1972a.

[21] The 1965 edition of chapter *Ja* from Nang bstan shes rig 'dzin skyong slob gnyer khang has an entirely different pagesetting, however, and includes a greater number of contractions and variant spellings, along with an *addenda et corrigenda* by the editor.

were particularly disfigured in this way are Nyang Nyi-ma 'Od-zer's *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (hereafter, *Nyang*), and, unfortunately for the present study, *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*. This is compounded by the fact that, unlike *KhG*, the originals (*ma-dpe*) of these three works are written in 'cursive' (*dbu-med*) script, so on top of the unmarked 'corrections', many errors have entered the text through its transcription into 'capital' (*dbu-can*) script. Unfortunately, no reliable versions of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* have been published, so it is necessary to rely on the printed book editions. I had the good fortune, however, of being able to consult in Lhasa the original *Lde'u* manuscript, and the transliteration benefits as a result. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult the *Jo sras* manuscript.

As the *Section on Law and State*, or fragments thereof, is found in numerous Tibetan histories, it would be nearly impossible to incorporate all of them into this analysis. The principal aim of this work is to underline any correspondences between the *SLS* and Old Tibetan sources. This allows us not only to judge the reliability of the *SLS*, but also to present a clearer picture of legal and bureaucratic practices in the imperial period. Chief among these sources are the *Old Tibetan Annals*, a laconic and generally reliable account of the first half of the Tibetan Empire; the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, an epic history of the first half of the Tibetan Empire; a document dealing mainly with blood money and recompense for murder (PT 1071), along with its partial copy (PT 1072); one document dealing with recompense for injury (PT 1073); two related documents dealing with punishment for theft (PT 1075, IOL Tib J 753); one document treating the order or rank of various officials (PT 1089), and one document dealing with miscellaneous legal matters (IOL Tib J 740).[22] The evidence

[22] 'PT' stands for Pelliot tibétain, and the number following indicates its shelf mark at the Bibliotheque nationale in France. 'IOL' indicates that the text is an Old Tibetan document from the India Office

from Old Tibetan sources is often fragmentary, and the highly codified body of laws and administrative practices found in the *Section on Law and State*, while clear and elaborate, often contain later interpolations. Considering these two types of sources together, however, the Old Tibetan texts serve as a corrective for some of the interpolated portions of the *Section on Law and State*, and the latter elaborate some of the practices mentioned only in passing in the Old Tibetan sources.

This comparison with Old Tibetan sources is complemented by a sparing use of post-dynastic sources that illuminate the *SLS*. Among them are the *Dba' bzhed* (11th –12th century), Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer's late 12th century *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (*Nyang*), Ne'u Paṇḍiṭa's *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* (*Ne'u*), composed in 1283, the *Blon po bka' thang* (hereafter, *BK*) and *Rgyal po bka' thang* (hereafter, *GK*), both revealed in the mid 14th century by the revelator (*gter-ston*) U-rgyan Gling-pa, and the mid 17th century *La dwags rgyal rabs* (hereafter, *LDGR*). In the case of *Nyang* and *Ne'u*, reliable versions have been published by MEISEZAHL (1985) and UEBACH (1987), respectively. These editions are relied on here, but for ease of reference the page numbers of the printed book versions are also cited in the transliterations. The same holds true for text transliterated from *BK* and *GK*, for which I have employed both the printed book version and the Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs gling edition printed in the Śatapiṭaka series. These sources, like the Old Tibetan sources, are only employed where relevant to the *Section on Law and State*; a full treatment of all of their legal and bureaucratic content is beyond the scope of this project.

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Library, kept in the British Library in London. The letters and numbers following indicate a document's shelf mark.

The importance of the *Section on Law and State* to the history of the Tibetan Empire has long been recognised both by international scholars and by scholars within Tibet. As with so many other facets of Tibetan history and culture, Giuseppe Tucci was one of the first to study the *SLS* in any detail (TUCCI 1956: 76-92). He translated a portion of the *SLS* as it appears in *KhG*, and stated that the document referred to the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, but 'may be composed of two parts which belong to two different periods' (TUCCI 1956: 76). Tucci thus recognised early the composite nature of the *SLS*. Tucci further noted the similarities between parts of this chapter and the 'army catalogue' of the *Blon po bka' thang yig* (*BK*) analysed by Thomas (*TLTD1*: 276-86). Tucci claimed to have dealt with the entire chapter in full in his annotated translation of *KhG* (TUCCI 1956: 90-91), but this unfortunately never materialised.

Uray's study of the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* remains the *locus classicus* for the study of Tibetan law and administration. In this work, Uray attended not only to the structure of the *SLS*, but to its contents as well, particularly in relation to Old Tibetan sources. Uray noted that the *SLS* in *KhG* was composed mainly of the catalogues of the six institutions (*khos drug*) and the catalogues of the thirty-six institutions, but that additional catalogues had been inserted that did not belong to this structure (URAY 1972a: 22). This point could not be proved at the time, but it is now evident that *Lde'u* was the source for these interpolated catalogues, and that Uray was indeed correct. Uray further dated the contents of the catalogues of the thirty-six institutions to the late eighth century.

Uray devoted a large part of his analysis to the narrative preamble to the catalogues of the six and thirty-six institutions, and concluded that the narrative goes back to accounts of the measures recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals*' entries for 654

and 655 (see below) (URAY 1972a: 23-32). Uray further noted that the narrative project of this story was to transfer the legislation composed during the reign of Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (650-676), under whom Tibet was dominated by the Mgar clan, to the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po in order to glorify the Tibetan ruler at the expense of the minister Mgar Stong-rtsan and the Mgar clan in general. This emphasis on the role of the ruler as the ultimate authority and the tendency to downplay the influence of the ministers is a recurring theme in Tibetan historiography beginning with the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and this of course reveals the political imperatives of such histories. By analysing this and considering the roles of the other principal characters in the narrative, Uray concluded that its prototype was composed in c. 715/718 (URAY 1972a: 46-48). This will be scrutinised in some detail in our treatment of the same narrative, which, significantly, is found in *Lde'u* in a slightly different form.

Treating the Buddhist laws found in the *SLS*, particularly the sixteen pure codes of human conduct (*mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug*), Uray stated that they had been inserted into the narrative in the fourteenth century, either under the auspices of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan or Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje, in an effort to legitimate their own legal reforms (URAY 1972a: 59).

Uray also noted the similarities between the catalogues in the *SLS* of *KhG* and a passage in *LDGR* relating to Tibet's thousand-districts. He stated that the tradition found in *LDGR* predated that of *KhG* and related to the first half of the eighth century, and that the matter would be treated in detail in later work. Regrettably, this work in preparation, like Tucci's translation of *KhG*, never appeared.

On the source value of the *SLS*, Uray concluded that parts of the text are from authentic documents originating from the 630s-640s, while other catalogues

describing state organisation in the eighth century, though also authentic, contain interpolations from later redactions. The legal statutes inserted in the fourteenth century, while useful for reconstructing the legal culture of that period, were, Uray stated, of little use to the study of law in imperial Tibet (URAY 1972a: 67-68).

Uebach's article on the *SLS* in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* built on Uray's analysis of the *SLS* in *KhG*, outlined the *SLS* in both sources, and signalled the importance of their contents. In a brief analysis of the contents, Uebach noted that the dating formula in the opening to the contents section in *Lde'u* {3.0.1} originated "from the mid-eleventh century at the earliest" (UEBACH 1989: 830). Crucially, Uebach demonstrated that the catalogues of the six and thirty-six institutions, and other parts of the *SLS* in *KhG* were based on the catalogues in *Lde'u* (UEBACH 1989: 830-31). On the catalogues of thousand-districts, Uebach noted that the catalogues in *Jo sras* correspond to those of *Ne'u*, while the catalogues in *Lde'u* correspond to those of *KhG* (UEBACH 1989: 831). Commenting on the date of the *SLS*, Uebach stated that Tucci's dating of the *SLS* in *KhG* to the second half of the eighth century at the earliest also applied to the *SLS* in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*. She further specified however, that although it included data going back to the beginnings of law and administration in Tibet, the *SLS* in *Lde'u* integrated Buddhism this corpus, and therefore 'might even reflect a state of the organisation of the Tibetan empire of a later date, the first half of the 9$^{th}$ century' (UEBACH 1989: 831). Just as Tucci and Uray, in their analyses of the *Section on Law and State*, announced longer works in preparation dealing with the *SLS*, so Uebach announced a detailed study in her own 'preliminary review' of the *SLS* in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* (UEBACH 1989: 823). Like the others, this study never materialised.

The most comprehensive study of the *SLS* to date was undertaken by CHAB-SPEL TSHE-BRTAN PHUN-TSHOGS (1989: 95-151). His is one of the few studies that

take into account both *KhG* and *Lde'u*, though, as is typical of most other scholars, he prefers the former. He is rather uncritical regarding the dates of various catalogues in the *SLS*, however, and commonly states that they date to the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po or shortly after. He does, however, make use of some Old Tibetan documents, and his analysis is often thorough.

The most recent study of the *SLS* is found in a chapter of a recent book by BSOD-NAMS TSHE-RING (2004: 19-60) devoted to ancient Tibetan legal culture. In this chapter, the author moves systematically through the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG*, offering glosses for numerous difficult terms. He often relies heavily on CHAB-SPEL (1989), and does not employ *Jo sras* or *Lde'u*, nor does he relate the *SLS* to Old Tibetan sources.

Another recent Tibetan work, by GNYA'-GONG DKON-MCHOG TSHE-BRTAN (2003) compares the *SLS* in *KhG* with Old Tibetan legal documents in order to give an overview of the stratification of Tibetan society during the imperial period. Gnya'-gong's study is an exemplar of modern Tibetan scholarship, and his approach—a synthesis of Old Tibetan and post-dynastic sources in order to reconstruct a social history of Tibet—is not dissimilar to that adopted here.

Aside from these four main analyses of the *SLS*, numerous other studies mention the catalogues of the *SLS*, particularly the catalogues of thousand-districts (*stong-sde*). YAMAGUCHI (1992: 78, n. 29) compared parts of the catalogues of thousand-districts in *KhG* and *BK* with names of thousand-districts found in Old Tibetan documents from Miran and Mazar Tagh. Most recently, Gyalbo, Hazod and Sørensen produced an excellent map of Left Horn (G.yo-ru), which located the thousand districts and the 'administrative districts' (*yul-dpon-tshan*) (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 239-41). UEBACH (1997) also devoted an article to the administrative districts

named in *Lde'u* and *GK*, and their relation to the *tshan* units named in Dunhuang documents. STEIN (1984) treated the catalogues of seals, insignia of rank, horn banners (*ru-dar*) and 'martial metaphors' (*dmag gi bzhed*) from *KhG* and *BK* in relation to Old Tibetan sources.

Among Tibetan scholars, Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'Phrin-las obviously realised the importance of the *SLS* to Tibetan history, and his encyclopaedic dictionary contains numerous entries that list the catalogues of the *SLS* in *KhG*. While most often these are not more than quotations, some entries offer explanations (cf. DUNG-DKAR 2002: 1860-61). Another study, *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, is a compilation of passages on Tibetan legal and bureaucratic culture taken from different sources. The *SLS* of *KhG* is among them, but the editors do not analyse its contents (TSHE-RING DPAL-'BYOR *et al*. 1989: 32-43).

Numerous studies focus on aspects of the administration and law of the Tibetan Empire without reference to the *Section on Law and State*. Most of these deal exclusively with Old Tibetan Sources. The most important of these studies are those of THOMAS (1936, *TLTD*), URAY (1960, 1961, 1962, 1980, 1982, 1990 and 1994) RICHARDSON (1967, 1969, 1989, 1990a, 1990b and 1992) and UEBACH (1985, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1999 and 2003), and others, such as RÓNA-TAS (1957, 1978), LALOU (1955), LI FANG-KUEI (1959), BOGOSLOVSKIJ (1972), DENWOOD (1980, 1991), IMAEDA (1980), COBLIN (1991), CHANG (1959-60), RONG (1990-91), WANG YAO (1991, 1996) and TAKEUCHI (1995, 2003) have contributed as well.

## Possible Sources for the *Section on Law and State*

As is evident from the passage of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* translated above, there was a tradition in early Tibet that ascribed legal and bureaucratic reforms to Srong-btsan Sgam-po. The measures described in this passage as 'the entire good basis of Tibet's customs' (*bod kyi chos kyi gzhung bzang-po kun*) formed the foundation of large parts of the *Section on Law and State* in post-dynastic histories. The original sources for these catalogues concerning Tibet's legal and governmental practices, the system of ministerial rank, the division of land, the standardisation of the weights and measures, and so forth—all mentioned in the passage from the *Chronicle*—would have been legal and bureaucratic manuals (*dkar-chag*/ *rtsis-mgo*), subsequently incorporated into historical narrative.[23] Indeed the existence of such manuals is mentioned in the *Dba' bzhed* when it states that Srong-btsan Sgam-po, after admonishing his subjects that if they did not follow his newly codified system of laws, then Tibet would be like the twelve minor kingdoms (*rgyal-phran*) that were defeated due to their internal chaos and lawlessness, announced to them the complete manuals (*rtsis-mgo*) and the good law (*chos-lugs bzang-po*) (WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 28-29).

The passage translated above from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* may be related to the measures laconically described in the best-known reference to the creation of Tibetan law and administration. This is found in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the single most reliable source for early Tibetan history. The entries for the years 654 and 655 are as follows:

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[23] The *OTC* passage itself may refer to a textual source for 'the entire good basis of Tibet's customs' (*bod kyi chos kyi gzhung bzang-po kun*), if we take *gzhung*, which I have translated here as 'basis', instead to mean 'fundamental texts'. This would then indicate a body of official texts that would certainly inform the *SLS*.

[654] The year of the tiger arriving. The Btsan-pho resided at Mer-khe and Prime Minister Stong-rtsan convened [the council] at Mong-pu Sral-'dzong. He divided the military (*rgod*) and the civilians (*g.yung*) and made the manuals for the execution of the great administration (*mkho-sham chen-pho*). So one year.

[655] The year of the hare arriving. The Btsan-po resided at Mer-khe and Prime Minister Stong-rtsan wrote the texts of the law (*bka'-grims*) at 'Gor-ti. So one year.

(*# / : / stagI lo la bab ste / btsan pho mer khe na' bzhugs shIng / blon che stong rtsan gyis / mong pu sral 'dzong du' bsduste / rgod g-yung dbye zhing / mkho sham chen pho bgyI ba'I rtsis mgo bgyI bar lo gchIg /*
*# / : / yos bu'I lo la bab ste' / / btsan po mer khe na bzhugs shing / blon che stong rtsan gyIs / 'gor tIr / bka' / grIms gyI yi ge brIs phar lo gchig /*) (PT 1288, ll. 26-29).[24]

In his superb study of the *Section on Law and State*, Uray related the *mkho-sham chen-po*, or 'great setting in order' mentioned in the *Annals*, to the *khos/khod/mkhos*, meaning 'administration, institution, settlement of the state' as found in the 'six institutions' (*khos drug*)—a body of legislations that make up a large part of the *SLS* (URAY 1972a: 18-19, n. 3). YAMAGUCHI (1992: 59) also noted the possible connection between the six institutions (*khos drug*) in the *SLS* and the *mkho-sham chen-pho*, which he took to mean 'the extensive system for supplying human and material necessities' (*mkho rgyu gshon-pa*).[25] Uray also famously pointed out that both the great administration in 654 and the writing of the laws in 655 post-dated the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, but were later attributed to him to bolster his legacy and downplay the influence of powerful ministers such as Mgar Stong-rtsan (URAY 1972a: 46-47). It cannot be overlooked, however, that the passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* is linked explicitly to the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po.

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[24] For text, see *CD2*, pl. 580. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 40. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 31.

[25] In *KhG*, there is a rather free alternation of orthography between *khod* and *khos*, while *Lde'u* tends to prefer *khod* (*infra*, {3.5.3a, 3.7.0}).

The passages cited above from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the *Old Tibetan Annals* place the creation of various elements of Tibet's bureaucratic and legal culture in the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po and shortly thereafter, during the reign of his successor, Mang-slon Mang-btsan. The measures referred to in these passages are indeed echoed in segments of the *SLS*, but these form only a part, albeit an important and probably early part, of the *SLS* as a whole. Another passage from the *OTC* also mentions legislative measures similar to those contained in parts of the *SLS*, but which relate to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan (756—c.800).

> During the reign of Emperor (Btsan-po) Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, the customs being good and the polity great (*chos bzang srid che*),[26] the king resided in the middle realm between heaven and earth. Acting as the lord of both men and animals with his great ruling tradition of government (*bdag mdzad-pa 'i gtsug-lag chen-po*), he served as a fitting exemplar for mankind.
>
> He joyously gave rewards for the good. As punishments for the wicked he acted pointedly (*dmyigs su phog-par mdzad*).[27] He created the insignia (*ri-mo*) for the wise and the heroes. He nurtured the livelihood of the lower classes.
>
> At that time, even the ministers concerned with government were cohesive in thought and united in counsel. They acted with great prowess and vigilance towards external enemies, and they acted with great honesty and perseverance in internal [domestic] matters. They were not envious. They did not commit offences. They sought both the heroic and the wise as if these were lost. They promoted the wise and the heroic to greater and lesser positions, and appointed them each in a given territory. To the subjects under them who were stationed in the fields (*dal zhing yul na 'khod-pa*), they taught both wisdom and honesty. To the soldiers stationed on the borders they taught physical skills and the method of the warfare (*dpa'-ba'I thabs*). By the virtue of their great abundance of both intellect and guile (*blo sgyu gnyIs*), there were none who were insolent or bitter enemies (*sdang dgra' sdo-ba yang myed do*).
>
> Seizing on the unsurpassed religion of the Buddha and practising it, he built temples in the centre and on all the borders. Having established the religion, everyone entered into compassion (*snying-rje la zhugs*), and were liberated from birth and death by calling their minds to it.
>
> (*btsan po khri srong lde btsan gyI ring la / / chos bzang srId che ste / rgyal po nI gnam sa gnyIs kyi bar yul du brnam zhIng / / 'greng dud gnyis kyi rje dang bdag mdzad pa 'I gtsug lag chen po / myI 'i dper rung bar mdzad do / / legs kyi bya dga' nI rangs par byin / nyes kyI chad pa nI dmyigs su phog par mdzad do*

[26] For a discussion of this formula, STEIN 2003 [1985]: 534-42.
[27] Literally, 'in a manner of hitting his goal" or "striking one's target'.

*/ / 'dzangs pa dang dpa' bo 'i rI mo bskyed do / / ngan pa ma rabs nI chis kyis gsos so' / / de 'I tshe blon po srid byed pa 'I rnams kyang / blo mthun gros gchig ste / / pyI 'i dgra' byung ba la / thabs dang ye myig cher byed / nang gI chos bya ba la drang zhIng 'grus su byed / / 'phrag myI dog / nyes myI byed / / dpa' 'dzangs gnyIs nI rlag pa bzhin btsal te / 'dzangs pa dpa' bo ni che sa chung sar bstod nas / sa sa yul yul du bkod do / / 'bangs 'og ma dal zhIng yul na 'khod pa nI / / 'dzangs drang gnyIs slob b'o / dmag myi so la 'khod pa nI dpa' ba 'I thabs dang / rtsal slob bo / / blo sgyu gnyIs kyi rlabs ched pos thub pas / / sdang dgra' sdo ba yang myed do / / sangs rgyas kyI chos bla na med pa brnyeste mdzad nas / / dbus mtha' kun du gtsug lag khang brtsigs te / chos btsugs nas / thams shad kyang snying rje la zhugs shIng dran bas skye shi las bsgral to*) (PT 1287, ll. 366-76).[28]

Some of the measures mentioned in this passage, particularly the creation of rewards for the good, punishments for the wicked, and insignia (*ri-mo*) for the wise and heroic, are also found in greater detail in the catalogues of the *SLS*. It is clear therefore that the early Tibetan historical tradition, as attested in the *Chronicle* and the *Annals*, ascribed legal and bureaucratic reforms not only to Srong-btsan Sgam-po and Mang-slon Mang-btsan, but to Khri Srong-lde-btsan as well. Both of these sources are completely silent, however, on the latter half of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's reign, and indeed on the reigns of his successors.

While the *SLS* itself relates its contents explicitly to the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, some of the catalogues that make up the *SLS* in *Lde'u* have been left out of the *SLS* in *KhG*, and placed further on in *KhG*'s narrative in a chapter devoted to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan. One suspects that this was due to Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag's awareness of legal and administrative reforms ascribed to Khri Srong-lde-btsan, or perhaps his appreciation of internal inconsistencies in ascribing all of the catalogues in the *SLS* of *Lde'u* to Srong-btsan Sgam-po. It is also just as likely that, in addition to

[28] For text, see *CD2*, pl. 570. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 30. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 152-53.

*Lde'u*, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag was also following a tradition found in an unnamed source that diverged from that recorded in *Lde'u*.

The actual manuals and records of the laws and administrative reforms mentioned in the *Annals* and the *Chronicle* have never surfaced, though there are several fragmentary Old Tibetan documents concerning the legal culture of the Tibetan Empire. Few explicit citations in the *Section on Law and State* are of identifiable source texts. In the *SLS* in *Lde'u*, however, the short synopsis of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's creation of the religious law (*chos-khrims*) {4} closes with the statement, 'this is explained in detail in the *Bka' chems'*. This most likely relates to the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, or *Chos skyong ba'i rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i bka' chems*, but could conceivably refer to a separate 'testament' (*bka'-chems*). This seems to relate only to the short paragraph on religious law in the text, however, and not to the catalogues of royal law (*rgyal-khrims*) or indeed to the rest of the *SLS*.

Another citation, from *Jo sras* {3.4.1}, is more useful. The passage describes five kinds of laws (*khrims rnam-pa lnga*) and how they were created. The first of the five laws, the 'general law dividing the power' (*Dbang gcad spyi-khrims*) was based on 'the manner in which the lord promulgated the law'; the second law, the 'law that takes the realm as its model' (*Rgyal-khams dpe blangs kyi khrims*) 'was created by looking at the conduct of the four appointed kings'; and the third law, the 'legal code of '*Bum-gser thang sha-ba-can*', was 'based on what was written in the *Bod kyi thang yig chen po*'. While the *Thang yig chen po* is mentioned here only as the source for one particular law in a group of five, the same text is apparently cited as the primary source for a mid-fourteenth century revealed text (*gter-ma*), the *Rgyal po bka' thang yig* (*GK*). *GK* includes a large body of bureaucratic practices, some of which overlap with the *SLS*. The colophon of *GK* reads,

> To the teacher, the lotus born—I, Ldan-ma Rtse-mang have set aside on white sheets of paper this *Thang yig chen mo*, the king's catalogue, made at the request of the ruler Mu-tig Btsan-po and the great mother, the queen. Known as the '*Thang yig chen mo that orders worldly existence*', it is complete! Gu-ru U-rgyan Gling-pa took it from Dge-ba mthar-rgyas gling. (*slob dpon padma 'byung gnas dang: mnga' bdag mu tig btsan po dang: yum chen btsun mos zhus pa yi: rgyal po'i dkar chag thang yig chen mo 'di: ldan ma rtse mang bdag gis dkar shog logs la btab: thra tha 2 rgya rgya: snang srid gtan la 'bebs pa'i thang yig chen mo zhes bya ba rdzogs so: gu ru o rgyan gling pas dge ba mthar rgyas gling nas spyan drangs pa'o//*) (*GK*: 227; CHANDRA 1982: 287; *kha*, 92a, ll. 4-5).[29]

The colophon dates U-rgyan gling-pa's source text to the early ninth century, during the reign of Mu-tig Btsan-po, also referred to in *GK* as Chos-rgyal Mjing-yon Sad-na-legs (c. 798-815). This ruler, in *GK* at least, corresponds to Khri Lde-srong-btsan (*GK*: 114-15).[30] His issuing of royal laws (*rgyal-khrims*) is mentioned in the main body of the text (*GK*: 193). Ldan-ma Rtse-mang, the reputed author of U-rgyan Gling-pa's source text, was a translator contemporary with Khri Srong-lde-btsan, but who was also active after his reign, as is apparent from the above quotation. His work is also known as the 'Great Spiritual Biography of the Teacher and the King' (*Slob dpon rgyal po'i rnam thar chen po*) (*GK*: 215).

A gloss in the chapter on law and state in the *GSM*, which deals with the three hundred ministers, states that its source is the *Thang yig chen mo* (*TBH*: 177, n. 500). The same passage from *GSM* was adapted by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag and inserted into the chapter on Thon-mi Sambhoṭa immediately preceding the *Section on Law and State* (URAY 1972a: 57, n. 120). Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag likewise cites the *Thang yig chen mo* as his source (*KhG*: 183-84). In *Jo sras, GSM, GK* and *KhG*, the passages cited from the

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[29] HAARH (1960: 147-48) also treated this passage.

[30] The post-dynastic sources are confused on the sons of Khri Srong-lde-btsan and sometimes conflate Mu-tig Btsan-po with Mu-ne btsan-po, Khri Lde-srong-btsan, or even both. For a discussion of this problem, see HAARH 1960: 146-64. For an attempt to resolve some of the chronological problems concerning the succession of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's sons, see DOTSON *forthcoming c*.

*Thang yig chen mo*/ *Thang yig chen po* are roughly the same: they deal with the legal and bureaucratic culture of the Tibetan Empire. While it is most likely that they all refer to the same source, it is not outside the realm of possibility that they refer to different documents with similar names.[31] In any case, the *Thang yig chen mo* of Ldan-ma Rtse-mang was composed at the turn of the ninth century, so most of its contents would probably relate to this period. If any earlier legal and bureaucratic reforms were included, these were likely based on the texts of the reforms themselves. A revisionist mandate would also be expected at this date, as both Khri Srong-lde-btsan and Khri Lde-srong-btsan promoted the image of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as a Buddhist ruler in their own edicts.

Examining the individual catalogues in the three main versions of the *Section on Law and State* retained in *Lde'u, Jo sras* and *KhG*, and investigating related, scattered catalogues in sources such as *Ne'u, Nyang, GK, BK* and *LDGR*, it is evident that the catalogues were not all transmitted from the same source. This is evident, for example, in the lists of thousand-districts (*stong-sde*), which have been studied in some detail by UEBACH (1985) and others. Uebach demonstrated that the catalogues of thousand-districts found in *Ne'u* and *Jo sras* predated those found in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK*. This is but one example of a common principle that can be found in other catalogues of the *SLS*: corresponding catalogues often refer to separate periods of history. This principle, together with the *Old Tibetan Annals*' reference to 'manuals for the execution of the great administration' (*mkho-sham chen-pho bgyi-ba'i rtsis-mgo*), and similar references in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the *Dba' bzhed*, suggests something about the nature of these imperial catalogues. Namely, that the catalogues of bureaucratic and legal practice were not composed at a single time and

[31] For this argument, see *TBH*: 177, n. 500.

place. The *Old Tibetan Annals*' reference to the creation of a bureaucratic manual in 654 may or may not have been the first attempt to catalogue the administrative practices of the Tibetan Empire, but it was certainly not the last. Catalogues of legal and bureaucratic structures and practices, whether in the form of the 'six institutions' (*khos drug*) or not, were evidently maintained and updated throughout the imperial period. In this respect, the cataloguing effort was precisely the same as that concerning the catalogues of Buddhist texts: bureaucratic bookkeeping lagged behind actual practice, but the catalogues were periodically updated in order to reflect current practice.[32] As with the catalogues of Buddhist texts, the compilers of the legal and administrative catalogues likely also kept ad-hoc documents (*dkyus*) that served to bridge the gap between periodic official updates. These ad-hoc documents, along with the periodic standardisations of the catalogues, constitute the main sources for the tradition of the *Section on Law and State*. The basic structure and organisation of the catalogues according to numeric formulas such as the 'six institutions' (*khos drug*) comes either from the imperial catalogues themselves or it was imposed when it was incorporated into one of the early narrative histories such as the *Thang yig chen mo*, the *Bka' chems*, or other unidentified histories; it is highly unlikely that the structure of the *SLS* was invented by the author(s) of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*. These early histories embellished and codified the original catalogues, and acted as intermediary sources between *Lde'u, Jo sras* and *KhG* and the imperial catalogues themselves. To these embellishments, the three later sources added their own, which, as discussed above, were often based on their own political imperatives. It should not be ruled out, however, that *Lde'u, Jo sras*, and even *KhG* may have also had access to texts of the

[32] See DOTSON *forthcoming c*, where it is suggested that the *Ldan dkar ma, Mchims phu ma* and *'Phang thang ma Catalogues* were successive updates of essentially the same catalogue of Buddhist texts.

original imperial catalogues themselves. There is therefore a dual movement of historical transmission and backwards projection. The former begins with the legal and bureaucratic catalogues kept during the imperial period, which in turn are transmitted to intermediary histories such as the *Thang yig chen mo*, the *Bka' chems* and other unidentified histories, and from then transmitted to *Lde'u, Jo sras, KhG*, and other post-dynastic histories. Concomitant with this movement, an inverse narrative force casts the political and religious imperatives of each successive writer backwards into the imperial period, and to the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po, resulting in his popular transformation as a *dharmarāja* and an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara.

In sum, the sources for the *Section on Law and State* are the actual legal and administrative manuals that catalogued the administrative practices of the Tibetan Empire. As demonstrated from the divergent catalogues in later sources concerning thousand-districts and other imperial structures, the imperial bureaucratic catalogues were standardised periodically, and later authors had access to various versions of these catalogues, some of which had been updated more recently than others. Early narrative histories such as the *Thang yig chen mo,* the *Bka' chems*, and related works imposed narrative order onto the imperial catalogues, and embellished them according to their own political imperatives. This tradition was directly inherited by the author(s) of *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* and by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba in their own versions of the *SLS*. The *SLS*, as represented in the three main sources here, is therefore composed of imperial catalogues that refer to separate periods observed through the prism of narrative standardisation and embellishment.

## Dating the *Section on Law and State*

It should be evident from the above considerations of the sources for the *Section on Law and State* that any attempt to date the content to a single period would be fundamentally misguided and doomed to failure. Its composite nature is not unique, but is a common feature of Tibetan historiography. This does not, however, preclude the dating of individual catalogues and passages. There are a number of general criteria for dating catalogues and passages within a text, and for establishing dates for the composition itself. Among these are formal and orthographic features, calendrical systems, treatment of personal names and economic considerations.

A recent article by SCHERRER-SCHAUB (1999) establishes a methodology for dating texts according to their formal and orthographic features. Among these are the types of ornamentation employed, such as the *siddham asti*, and orthographic features such as the reverse *gi-gu*, *ma-mya* and the second *d* suffix. To this we can also add the pattern of use of the double and single *tsheg* (DOTSON *forthcoming b*). These are all general considerations, however, and serve only to locate a text within a general continuum beginning with pillar inscriptions and middle Old Tibetan documents (late 8th-mid 9th centuries), and moving on to late Old Tibetan documents (late 9th-early 12th centuries), early Tabo documents (10th—12th centuries) and post-dynastic histories (10th century onward).[33]

As with formal and orthographic considerations, calendrical systems often reveal the general period of a text's composition. URAY (1984) demonstrated, for example, that the earliest known use of the sexagenary cycle in Tibet (i.e., the

[33] This division of Old Tibetan into early (mid 7th-mid 8th centuries), middle (late 8th-mid 9th centuries) and late (late 9th-early 12th centuries), when Tibetan was used as a *lingua franca* in the post-dynastic period, follows Takeuchi's recent schema, presented at the eleventh Himalayan Languages Symposium at Bangkok in December 2005. For further information on Tabo documents, which date from the 10th to the 16th or 17th century, see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999.

combination of the 12 year cycle of animal years with the five elements) occurred in the Lhasa treaty pillar inscription of 822/823. A similar benchmark is 1027, when the Kalacakra calendar became widespread in Tibet. Obviously, the employment of either of these calendars can be used to date a text to post-822/823 or post-1027. While this is useful for early texts, it is of little help for those histories written from the second half of the 11th century onwards.

Without recourse to the manuscript itself, there are still several ways to approach the dating of a text and its individual passages. One method is to examine the treatment of personal names. In the *Section on Law and State*, for example, there is a passage dealing with the famous Tibetan minister Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse. Originally from Zhang-zhung, Zu-tse joined Srong-btsan Sgam-po's father, Emperor Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, and proved instrumental in the conquest of Gtsang and Zhang-zhung. Paeans to Zu-tse are found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and fragments are also found in the 'Chronicle Fragments' (IOL TIB J 1284). Through early epic histories such as the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Zu-tse, like other important figures such as Mgar Stong-btsan, Srong-btsan Sgam-po and Wen-cheng Kong-co, became a popular folk legend during the latter part of the empire and after its collapse. This is evident from the fact that Zu-tse, besides being canonised by the official or semi-official epic, was also a figure employed in anecdotes contained in popular divination practices (*mo*).[34] Despite his great fame in the imperial period, the *SLS* in *Lde'u* transmits his name as Khyung-po Spu-stang Zung-tse, *Jo sras* refers to him as

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[34] MACDONALD (1971: 291) argued that the mention of Zu-tse in this divination manual indicated that it was composed during the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. While this should not be dismissed out of hand, this assertion makes it the oldest sample of Tibetan writing by over 100 years. I find it far more likely that the influence of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* as a popular epic, not entirely dissimilar in spirit from the epic of Gesar, promoted the fame of figures such as Zu-tse and accounts for Zu-tse's appearance as an anecdote in a divination prognosis. Indeed this same process surely contributed to the growth of the legendary narratives surrounding Srong-btsan Sgam-po, Mgar Stong-btsan and Wen-cheng Kong-co, later taken up by Tibetan narrative and dramatic traditions.

Khyung-po Su-sna Zu-tse, and the *SLS* in *KhG* calls him Khyung-po Bun Zung-ce. This tells us something about the authors/compilers of these texts: they were sufficiently removed from the period they described to allow for such obvious errors. It is highly unlikely that a work composed during the latter half of the empire, such as Ldan-ma Rtse-mang's *Thang yig chen mo*, could have admitted such a gaffe.

In other parts of the *SLS*, the names of less famous ministers are retained in correct form, and where the chronology of a person's career is known from Old Tibetan sources, this can prove a reliable way to date an individual catalogue. This is the case, for example, with the catalogues of thousand-districts in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK*, which name Mchims Rgyal-gzigs Shu-teng and Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang as generals of Lower Left Horn and Lower Central Horn respectively (*infra,* {3.3.1c}). As I have demonstrated elsewhere, since these men are mentioned in the Zhol Pillar, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the *Old Tibetan Annals* in connection with the sack of the Chinese capital in 763, the catalogue can be reliably dated to between 758 and 763.

As with personal names, the use of economic evidence can be useful in dating sections of a text to a specific period. One catalogue in the *SLS* deals with the appropriate amount of blood money that was required after the murder of a Tibetan minister. The amounts are given in *srang*, and vary according to the dead man's rank (*infra*, {3.3.2b}). Comparing the monetary values attached to a man's life here with those found in PT 1071, an Old Tibetan legal document dealing also with the appropriate payment of blood money according to the rank of the victim, it is striking that the amounts are nearly the same. Though the monetary systems of imperial Tibet are not yet well-understood, the close correspondence between the levels of blood

money in these two documents validates the catalogue in the *Section on Law and State*, and allows it to be dated to the imperial period.[35]

Attention to detail in each section of the *Section on Law and State*, and considerations of formal and orthographic features, the treatment of personal names and monetary considerations put the lie to the claim that all the institutions described belong to the period of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. This is most evident due to the mention of persons who post-date this ruler, sometimes by as much as two hundred years. This again reveals the composite nature of both the *SLS* itself and the sources for the *SLS*, but it also reveals that their authors/compilers were sufficiently removed from their sources not to notice the inconsistencies within the narratives and catalogues they had pieced together from various sources. Alternatively, they did not regard these as contradictions *per se*, or though aware of them, were not overly troubled.

## Methodology

I have mentioned already the importance of the *Section on Law and State* as a part of the mythography of Srong-btsan Sgam-po. By extension, it is part of the narrative fabric that weaves together the story of a golden age, and it will be analysed as such. However, a treatment of the narrative structure and the authorial project of the *Section on Law and State* is not the only type of analysis I will employ here. While it is first necessary to understand the structure of a text and its purpose, I do not view this as an end in itself, but as a precondition for a treatment of the text's contents. In the case of the *Section on Law and State*, the contents may be said to be composite in that they are drawn from numerous sources and fit together to form a

[35] For a detailed comparison of these two traditions of compensation for death, see *infra*, {3.3.2b}.

single, mostly coherent body of laws and bureaucratic practices. The respective authors of the three full extant versions considered here were able to pick and choose from different sources in compiling their histories, and certainly did so. This type of composition has been referred to by VAN DER KUIJP (1996: 44-45), following Collingwood, as the 'scissors-and-paste' method of historiography. While the description is apt, and the pre-modern Tibetan historiographical genre can certainly be viewed as falling into Collingwood's 'scissors-and-paste' category, it may not be appropriate to apply Collingwood's taxonomy for the simple reason that it is an explicitly evolutionary model.[36] This militates implicitly against an appreciation of the pluralism of historiographic tradition by viewing the genre of Tibetan religious history as a phase in an evolutionary continuum whose current forefront (and thus locus of authority) resides in modern (Western) historiography.

While I do not find it necessary to presuppose objectivity and have little if any faith in any sort of messianic project to gain 'complete vision' of the past, I believe that one can, through a solid understanding of one's sources and through careful comparison with other sources, contribute to a more accurate picture of Tibet's history. In order to do this one must, by necessity, impose categories of understanding that may be foreign to the texts themselves. This is a matter of pragmatism, and it need not be accompanied by value judgments against indigenous works that operate on separate assumptions and use separate methodologies.[37] In this I agree with Declan Quigley when he states that 'knowledge of other societies...does not depend, indeed must not depend, on understanding other societies through their ideologies alone'

[36] In fact, the genre of Tibetan religious history fits just as well into Collingwood's category of 'theocratic history' (COLLINGWOOD, 1978 [1946]: 14-17), though, again, such categories may be deemed inappropriate with regard to Tibetan historiography due to their presumption of an evolutionary model.

[37] For an argument ostensibly opposed to this approach, and one that seems to privilege the 'form of the content' to the near exclusion of content, see BJERKEN 2002: 179-82.

(QUIGLEY 1999 [1993]: 44). Indeed to operate on terms consonant with the authors of Tibetan religious histories, that is, to adopt their own methodologies and their own imperatives, would quite simply result in the production of another Tibetan religious history. While this would be an admirable undertaking, I am at present less interested in narrating the fortunes of religion in the holy land of Tibet than I am in understanding the cultural development of Tibet as a unique trajectory in human history. Therefore, simply speaking, I adopt a methodology more amenable to my aims. That such concerns may be foreign to those who composed the sources I examine is of little concern. It is of utmost concern, however, that I understand their methodologies. It would in fact be inconceivable to investigate the content of any work of history without an understanding of the imperatives and motivations of its author(s). A solid understanding of the narrative project is therefore a necessary aspect of a pragmatic historical methodology, and one that should go hand in hand with an understanding of common narrative devices and folk motifs.

An analysis of Tibetan historical texts must therefore operate on several different levels: it must take into account the narrative structure and project of the text, comment on what the contents reveal about the author and his milieu, and comment on the reliability of the information in the text concerning the period it purports to describe.[38] Following the discussion of the sources for the *Section on Law and State*, it is obvious that any attempt to peel away the narrative accretions and reveal the 'bare substructure' that goes back to the original administrative manuals would be simply impossible. The manuals have vanished, and they only survive within the context of narrative histories that have adapted the tradition to fit their own narrative projects and political imperatives. Even if they were available, the manuals

[38] For a succinct review of similar considerations, see OPPITZ 1974: 237-40.

themselves would only describe an ideal situation, and would likely tell us little of the actual implementation of the legal and bureaucratic culture they describe. It is therefore impossible to attain any sort of complete knowledge of what happened during the imperial period and how Tibet's legal and bureaucratic culture operated. The same could be said, however, of any other time and place, including the present, and this reveals a fundamental quandary in terms of the production of knowledge. Without moving too far in the direction of a positivist model, a pragmatic approach to history posits degrees of (relative) reliability. In this way, the present analysis of the *Section on Law and State* is concerned with finding links between the legal and bureaucratic systems described in Old Tibetan sources, and this independently confirms the existence of such practices at the time. Together with the elucidation of the imperatives of our sources—narrative, political or otherwise—such an analysis neither ignores form in favour of content, nor privileges form as predetermining content. Put in clearer terms, we can see how within the narrative, a body of laws attributed to Srong-btsan Sgam-po glorify him as a *dharmarāja*, but at the same time, we can also see that the body of laws described is in fact a conglomeration of disparate practices dating to several periods, some of which can be confirmed in earlier sources. This is exactly what one would expect of a juridical corpus, which is by definition constituted by successive and diachronic enlargements.

## The *Section on Law and State*

The *Section on Law and State* is a chapter found in several post-dynastic religious histories, the most important of which are *Lde'u, Jo sras* and *KhG*. Within the narrative structure of these histories, the *SLS* is a body of legal and bureaucratic measures attributed to Srong-btsan Sgam-po. The *SLS* begins with a preamble. This is followed by an outline that enumerates all of the catalogues of legal and bureaucratic measures within the *SLS*, and then by the catalogues themselves. The following presentation of the *SLS* is therefore broken into three sections: the preamble, the outline and the catalogues. This is preceded, however, by a composite outline that reviews the structure and internal organisation of the *SLS*.

### Structure of the *Section on Law and State*

The *SLS* in *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* have explicit outlines that preview their contents. *KhG* has no such outline, and follows a different structure from that of *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*. Uebach outlined both the *SLS* in *Lde'u* and that in *Jo sras*, and while I have generally tried to adhere to her numbering system, I have made some significant changes for the sake of clarity. Uray outlined the *SLS* in *KhG* and commented on its structure, but, as mentioned in the introduction, the contents of the *SLS* in *KhG* are extracted here to fit the structure of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*. Before moving on to the composite outline, it is necessary to review first the structure of the *SLS* in the three main sources.

While *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* follow essentially the same outline, *Jo sras* is more faithful to the outline than is *Lde'u*. The outline in *Jo sras* announces twenty-eight measures, one after the other. These are then enumerated in further detail in the

contents section of the *SLS* in *Jo sras*. While the outline in *Jo sras* announces at {2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.13, 2.14} five measures that are not found in its contents, and the contents include one measure, at {3.4.7}, that is not found in the outline, the correspondence between outline and content is fairly strong.

The outline in *Lde'u* follows the same order as that in *Jo sras*. *Lde'u*, however, lacks in its outline the six measures announced by *Jo sras* at {2.6, 2.8, 2.10, 2.11, 2.17, 2.23}. The most fundamental difference between the structure of the *SLS* in *Jo sras* and that of the *SLS* in *Lde'u* is not these six measures missing in *Lde'u*, but another very important additional measure, unique to *Lde'u*, that comprises the largest part of the *SLS*. This is the 'double cycle of ten catalogues' announced in the outline of *Lde'u* {2.16}. As with the other measures introduced in the outline, this measure is explained in the contents section of *Lde'u*. It differs from the others measures, however, in that the double cycle of ten catalogues is outlined again in more detail, and then expounded over the course of fifteen pages (*Lde'u*: 255-69). The only other feature of the structure of the *SLS* in *Lde'u* that differs radically from that in *Jo sras* is that *Lde'u* ends the *Section on Law and State* with a concluding formula stating, 'those are the ways in which the royal law (*rgyal-khrims*) was created', and concludes the chapter with an additional paragraph on the creation of the religious law (*chos-khrims*) {4}.

The structure of the *SLS* in *KhG* differs from that of *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*, but its contents are mostly identical. Uebach noted already that the *SLS* of *KhG* is largely based on that of *Lde'u*, and we can add to this the assertion that the *SLS* of *KhG* is comprised almost entirely of an enumeration of the six institutions (*khos*), and the thirty-six institutions (*khos*), the latter of which are found in *Lde'u* as the thirty-six legal statutes (*khrims-tshig*) {3.5}. These thirty-six legal statutes are divided into six

groups of six, and in *Lde'u* the six institutions (*khod*)—in reality a catalogue of the six administrative chiefs (*khod-dpon*)—makes up one of these groups. In *KhG*, however, the six institutions stand apart from the thirty-six institutions. The reasons for this are unclear, and it is not at all certain which tradition, if either, is mistaken.[39] UEBACH (1989: 830) outlined the correspondences between *Lde'u* and *KhG* concerning the six institutions and the thirty-six legal statutes, and I adapt her table here, preserving Uebach's practice of arranging the institutions side by side despite their difference in order in the two sources. Their original order is indicated by their numbering.

Table 1: The Thirty-six Legal Statutes (*khrims-tshig*)/ Institutions (*khos*) {*SLS* 3.5}.

| | ***Lde'u*** | | ***KhG*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | The six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po*) | 1 | The six great principles |
| 2 | The six official legal codes (*bka'-khrims*) | 6 | The six official legal codes (*bka' 'i khrims yig drug*) |
| 3 | The six institutions (*khod*) | 4 | The six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) |
| 4 | The six insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) | 2 | The six insignia of rank |
| 5 | The six seals (*phyag-rgya*) | 3 | The six official seals |
| 6 | The six emblems of heroism (*dpa'-rtags*) | 5 | The six emblems of heroism |

Considering the structural differences between the two catalogues, *Lde'u* lists the six institutions where *KhG* lists the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*). *Lde'u* goes on to enumerate the six institutions, but not with the same detailed treatment they receive in *KhG*. As for the contents of the thirty-six legal statutes/ institutions in *Lde'u* and *KhG*, they are virtually identical. Because of the size of these catalogues, they have been marked off in their own separate section at {3.5}. Likewise, the six legal codes (*khrim-tshig*) are catalogued and analysed at {3.6}, and the six institutions are found at {3.7}.

[39] *Jo sras* is certainly confused on the matter, however, when stating that the thirty-six legal codes are comprised of the king's twelve laws, which are 'the three praises, three scorns, three deeds and three non-deeds and so forth' (*Jo sras*: 113-14).

In one area, law, *KhG* adds quite a bit to the *SLS* in *Lde'u*, whose own catalogue of the six official laws is woefully brief. *KhG* regards the six legal codes as the final group of six in its enumeration of the thirty-six institutions, but due to their length, they appear here in their own section at {3.6}. Properly speaking, however, these should be considered as part of the thirty-six institutions, and the outlines of the six legal codes in the three main sources are discussed in detail at their initial appearance at {3.5.2}. The following table shows the correspondences between the three outlines. As *KhG*'s catalogue is far more detailed than those of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*, it ordering of the catalogues is followed here.

Table 2: Outline of the Six Legal Codes {*SLS* 3.6}.

| | ***KhG*** | ***Lde'u*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher | Law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher | Law of the violent soldiers (*mi-rgod btsan-thabs kyi khrims*) (4) |
| 2 | Law of 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can | Law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can | Law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can (3) |
| 3 | Law that takes the kingdom as its model | Law that takes the kingdom as its model | Law that takes the kingdom as its model (2) |
| 4 | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon (5) |
| 5 | General law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*) | Proclaimed royal law (6) | General law dividing the power (*dbang gcad spyi-khrims*) (1) |
| 6 | Internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*) | Law [created] at the revenue collectors' insistence (*khab-so nan khrims*) (5) | |

Similar differences are in evidence in the treatment of the thirty-six legal statutes in *Lde'u* and *KhG*.

Table 3: The Six Institutions (*khos drug*) {*SLS* 3.7}.

| | ***Lde'u*** | | ***KhG*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | The boundaries of the four horns and Sum-pa | 1 | The boundaries of the horns |
| 2 | The so-called forty military thousand- | 3 | The military thousand-districts |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | districts | | |
| 3 | The civilian districts (*g.yung gi mi-sde*) | 4 | The civilian districts |
| 4 | The subject workers | 5 | The three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister |
| 5 | The administrative arrangement of territories (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) | 2 | The eighteen shares of power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*) |
| 6 | The upper, middle, and lower regiments of heroes (*dpa'-sde*) | 6 | The three regiments of heroes |

Structurally, the 'subject workers' in *Lde'u* has been replaced by the 'three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister' in *KhG*. This will be discussed below in the analysis of {3.7} of the *SLS*. With the exception of the civilian districts, which are enumerated in detail only in *KhG*, and the eighteen shares of power, which correspond to the 'administrative arrangement of territories' (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) in *Lde'u*, but which are more complete in *KhG*, the catalogues of the six institutions correspond almost exactly in content. The exposition of the military thousand-districts are more extensive in *KhG*, however, because *KhG* incorporates data into this section that is found in the double cycle of ten catalogues in *Lde'u*. These are 'the ten *sde*: the so-called "sixty [one] thousand-districts of Tibet" comprised of the four horns (*ru*) of Tibet, the upper and lower Zhang-zhung ten-thousand-district, and the Supplementary Horn of Sum-pa', and 'the sixty-one heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*), their clans, and the generals (*ru-dpon/ dmag-dpon*), horn horses (*ru-rta*), horn banners (*ru-dar*), insignia (*yig-tshang*), sub-commanders (*ru-dpon gyi ting-gnon/ dpa'-zla*) and "martial metaphors" (*dmag gi bzhed*) of the upper and lower sections of Branch Horn (Ru-lag), Right Horn, Central Horn and Left Horn' {3.3.1b}. This explains why the six institutions in *KhG* are more extensive than the six institutions in *Lde'u*.

Last among the differences between the *SLS* in our three main sources, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag closes this chapter of *KhG* with a concluding verse, a feature not found in either *Lde'u* or *Jo sras*.

The composite outline that follows has been constructed based on all three sources, but most closely follows *Lde'u*. All of the information in the outline is based on *Lde'u*, unless marked otherwise. Those measures that are found only in *Jo sras*, for example, are marked '(*Jo sras*)'. The composite outline breaks the *SLS* into three main parts: preamble {1}, outline {2} and contents {3}. The fourth part is essentially an addendum, as is the concluding verse from *KhG*.

Part three is by far the largest section, and I have further subdivided it into eight parts. This is due to the fact that while part three follows the same order introduced in the outline, it inserts the 'double cycle of ten catalogues' (i.e., the 10 *tshan* and 10 *sde*, 9 *bkra* and 9 *che*, the 8 *kha* and 8 *khe*, the 7 *che* and 7 *dpon*, the 6 *na* and 6 *ne*, the 5 *bla* and 5 *na*, the 4 *bka'* and 4 *rtsis*, the 3 *khams* and 3 *chos*, the 'pair' and the ruler himself.), the extensive contents of which had to be accommodated. Further, the catalogues of the thirty-six institutions, the six legal codes and the six institutions are each lengthy enough that they had to be marked off in their own respective sections. This means that while the contents in fact follow the general order of the outline, the length of these four traditions—the double cycle of ten catalogues, the thirty-six institutions, the six legal codes and the six institutions—distracts from this fact, and it seems as if the contents diverge at points from the outline. The first part of section three, {3.1}, contains the contents of catalogues mentioned in the outline. Section {3.2} is the outline of the double cycle of ten catalogues, and section {3.3} presents the contents of the double cycle of ten catalogues. As mentioned above, these sections are unique to *Lde'u*. Section {3.4}

'returns' to the contents of catalogues mentioned in the outline. Section {3.5} presents the thirty-six institutions, section {3.6} presents the six legal codes and section {3.7} presents the catalogues of the six institutions. Section {3.8} once again 'returns' to the individual catalogues noted in the outline, and the *Section on Law and State* closes with a short passage on religious law at {4} and a concluding verse at {5}.

Part three could just as easily be numbered as one continuous section, but this would necessitate numbering such as '{3.1.12.1b}'. This is distracting, and more cumbersome than the numbering I have adopted. In the following composite outline, I employ brackets for headings that I have artificially inserted to clarify the structure.

## Composite Outline of the *Section on Law* and *State* (based on *Lde'u*)

N = Narrative
C = Catalogue

**1 [Preamble]**
**2 [Outline of Tibet's institutions] The king created the law (*Jo sras*)**
2.1 He divided Tibet into four horns
2.2 He partitioned the Horn of Sum-pa as an additional district
2.3 He gathered under his dominion the four appointed kings
2.4 He built eight watch-posts (*so-kha*) in the lands
2.5 He made the twelve minor kingdoms into his servants and subjects[40]
2.6 The Tibetan lord and ministers raised the superior polity from [its already lofty heights] (*bla'i chab nas 'degs*) (*Jo sras*)[41]
2.7 The six clans of paternal subjects tended the body of the lord[42]
2.8 The six types of firm subjects (*btsan-'bangs*) fulfilled [his] needs and desires on time (*Jo sras*)
2.9 The three (classificatory) maternal uncles and the four ministers held the central assembly[43]
2.10 The four great ones, five with the *ring*, held the foundation of the authority (*bla'i gzhi*) (*Jo sras*)

[40] No corresponding catalogue.
[41] No corresponding catalogue.
[42] No corresponding catalogue.
[43] Enumerated in two catalogues.

2.11 The nine great ones, ten with the *ring*, took care of [Tibet's] needs (*Jo sras*)
2.12 The divisions of the heroes Ldong and Stong tamed the Chinese and Turks (Dru-gu) of the frontiers
2.13 The 360 *khab stong-sde* served as soldiers and border [guards][44]
2.14 The hundred *cha* households ploughed the fields and tamed the badlands (*tha-rgod*)[45]
2.15 The nine experts (*mkhan*), the seven rulers (*srid-pa*), the seven herders (*rdzi*), the seven merchants and the seventeen and a half civilians (*g.yung*) acted as subordinate subjects (*snying-'bangs*) and subject's subjects (*yang-'bangs*) and fulfilled the lord's wishes[46]
2.16 At that time, there being the legal customs (*khrims chos*) concerning the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*, these bound Tibet in general
2.17 The five kinds of laws (*khrims*) bound Tibet in general (*Jo sras*)
2.18 The five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*) cleared away internal hostility
2.19 The five kinds of soldiers subdued external enemies
2.20 The six kinds of armour protected the inner life-force (*srog*)
2.21 The 6 x 6 = 36 statutes (*khrims-tshig*) established Tibet in happiness
2.22 The six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) of the superior acted for the benefit of beings
2.23 The seven and a half wise men arranged the institutions (*khod*) of bliss and happiness (*Jo sras*)
2.24 They divided the pastures into *thu*
2.25 They laid out the fields into *the-gu*
2.26 During the time of the seven great high ministers (*dgung-blon*),[47] they established boats on the rivers
2.27 They built toll-stations on the mountain passes
2.28 They convoked the chiefs of the soldiers
2.29 Having defeated the Chinese and Turks at the borders, they created the thousand [-districts] of Tibet
2.30 The law (*bka'-khrims*) earnestly bound [the polity]
2.31 The lord's orders were based on consultation
2.32 [The ministers] acted as brothers in giving counsel on subjects' petitions
2.33 At that time the sixteen codes of human conduct (*mi-chos*) governed behaviour
2.34 They took as a model the ten virtues of the divine [Buddhist] religion (*lha-chos*)
2.35 By practising the ten virtues in body and speech, they taught the path to higher realms and liberation

**3 [Tibet's laws and institutions]**

3.0 [Opening formula] The time and place when King Srong-btsan Sgam-po created the laws
3.1 [Catalogues introduced in the outline]
3.1.1 The boundaries of the four horns and Sum-pa (C)
3.1.2 The eight valley-mouth border watch-posts (*so-kha rong-kha*): Tibet's borders (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.1.3 The six types of *btsan-'bangs* (C) (*Jo sras*)

[44] No corresponding catalogue.
[45] No corresponding catalogue.
[46] Enumerated in three catalogues.
[47] *Jo sras* has sixteen *gung-blon*.

3.1.4 The three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.1.5 The four ministers (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.1.6 The four great ones, five with the *ring* (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.1.7 The nine great ones, ten with the *ring* (C) (*Jo sras*)[48]
3.1.8 The divisions of heroes, the eighteen great Ldong clans (*Jo sras*)
3.1.9 The four *stong-rje* (*Jo sras*)
3.1.10 The eight subject territories (*khol*) (*Jo sras*)
3.1.11 The subject workers: the nine rulers (*srid-pa*), the seven herdsmen, the nine [sic] experts (*mkhan*), the five objects of trade (*tshong*), the four kings and the three 'holders' (*'dzin*) (C)

**3.2 [Outline of the double cycle of ten catalogues] According to the source (*gzhung las*), he demonstrated the ten *tshan*, ten *sde* and so forth**

3.2.1 10 *tshan*, i.e. administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*). 10 *sde*, i.e. thousand-districts (*stong-sde*)
3.2.2 9 *bkra*: three *le-bkra* comprising the nine *bkra* of existence/politics (*srid-pa*), the nine *bkra* of banquets and the nine *bkra* of wooden slips (*byang-bu*). 9 *che*, i.e. great ministers holding insignia of rank
3.2.3 8 *kha*, i.e., the eight great markets (*khrom-kha*). 8 *khe*, i.e., profits. Alternatively, the eight temples built by the eight great Tibetan generals to carry away all of their sins
3.2.4 7 *che*, i.e., 'great ones' (C). 7 *dpon*, i.e., officials (C)
3.2.5 6 *na*, i.e., the six great insignia (C). 6 *ne*, i.e., the six small insignia (C)
3.2.6 5 *bla*, i.e., authorities (C). 5 *na* (C)
3.2.7 4 *bka'*, i.e., orders (C). 4 *rtsis*, i.e., types of accounts (C)
3.2.8 3 *khams*, i.e., regions (C). 3 *chos*, i.e., 'customs' (C)
3.2.9 2 = The body [of the emperor] and the polity (*chab-srid*) are called 'the pair'
3.2.10 1 = Condensed into one, they are gathered under the dominion of the ruler, the king

**3.3 [Contents of the double cycle of ten catalogues]**

3.3.1a 10 *tshan*: the sixteen administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*) of Branch Horn (Ru-lag), Right Horn, Central Horn and Left Horn (C)
3.3.1b 10 *sde*: the so-called 'sixty [one] thousand-districts of Tibet' comprised of the four horns of Tibet, the upper and lower Zhang-zhung ten-thousand-district, and the Supplementary Horn of Sum-pa (C). The sixty-one heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*): their clans, and the generals (*ru-dpon/ dmag-dpon*), horn horses (*ru-rta*), horn banners (*ru-dar*), insignia (*yig-tshang*), sub-commanders (*ru-dpon gyi ting-gnon/ dpa'-zla*), and 'martial metaphors' (*dmag gi bzhed*) of the upper and lower sections of Branch Horn (Ru-lag), Right Horn, Central Horn and Left Horn (C)
3.3.2a 9 *bkra*: the so-called wooden slip *bkra* (*byang-bu dgu-bkra*) only (C)
3.3.2b 9 *che*: the nine ministers that carry out all deeds (C)
3.3.3a 8 *kha*: the eight great trading centres (*khrom-kha chen-po*) (C)
3.3.3b 8 *khe*: the types of trade in the four great directions (*la-sgo*) (C) and the four small sections (*le-chung*)
3.3.3c The so-called 'additional 8 *kher*': the eight great temples built by eight Tibetan generals to cleanse their sins (C)
3.3.4a 7 *che*: the seven great ones (C)

[48] The contents overlap with those of the catalogue of the 'seven great ones' (*che*) at {3.2.4a}.

3.3.4b 7 *dpon*: the types of officials (C)
3.3.5a 6 *che*: the six great insignia, and the officials who hold them (C)
3.3.5b The officials who hold the six middle insignia (C)
3.3.5c 6 *chung*: the six small insignia, and the officials who hold them (C)
3.3.5d 6 *rkyen*: the six 'qualities' or attendant symbols (C)
3.3.6a 5 *bla*: the five authorities (C)
3.3.6b 5 *na*: five stages in a lawsuit (*zhal-che*) (C), five types of heroes (C), the five types of soldiers (*rgod*) (C), the five types of messengers, and the five types of laws (C)
3.3.7a 4 *bka'*: four orders (C)
3.3.7b 4 *rtsis*: four types of accounts (C)
3.3.8a 3 *khams*: three regions (C)
3.3.8b 3 *chos*: three 'customs' (C)
3.3.9 2 = The body [of the emperor] and the polity (*chab-srid*) are called 'the pair'
3.3.10 1 = Condensed into one, they are gathered under the dominion of the ruler, the king

**3.4 [Return to catalogues introduced in the outline]**

3.4.1 The five kinds of laws (*khrims*) (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.4.2 The five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*) (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.4.3 The five kinds of soldiers (C) (*Jo sras*)
3.4.4 The six kinds of armour (C) (*Jo sras*)

**3.5 The thirty-six institutions**

3.5.1 The six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po*) (C)
3.5.2 The six official laws (*bka'-khrims*) (C)
3.5.3a The six institutions (*khod*) (C)
3.5.3b The six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) (C)
3.5.4 The six insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) (C)
3.5.5 The six seals (*phyag-rgya*) (C)
3.5.6 The six emblems of heroism (*dpa'-rtags*) (C)[49]

**3.6 The six legal codes (*khrims-yig*)**

3.6.1 The law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher
3.6.2 The law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can (C)
3.6.3 The law taking the kingdom as an example (*rgyal-khams dper blangs kyi khrims*) (C)
3.6.4 The law created at the request of the Mdo-lon (*mdo-lon zhu bcad kyi khrims*) (C)
3.6.5 The general law created by the great governors (*dbang-chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*) (C)
3.6.6 The internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*)

**3.7 The six institutions**

3.7.0 Narrative preamble to the six institutions
3.7.1 The boundaries of the horns.[50]
3.7.2 The catalogues of thousand-districts[51]
3.7.3 The civilian districts (C)

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[49] The short catalogue in *Jo sras* is misplaced or mistaken, as it corresponds to what *Lde'u* refers to as the 'combined ministerial laws', which consist the three deeds and three non-deeds, three praises and three scorns, and the three non-harmings.
[50] Analysed at {3.1.1}; not included here.
[51] Analysed at {3.3.1b}; not included here.

3.7.4 The three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister (C)[52]
3.7.5 The administrative arrangement of territories/ eighteen shares of power (C)
3.7.6 The three regiments of heroes (*dpa'-sde gsum*) (C)
**3.8 [Return to catalogues introduced in the outline]**
3.8.1 The six qualities of the superior (*bla'i rkyen*) (*Jo sras*)[53]
3.8.2 The four kinds of pleasures (C) (*Jo sras*)[54]
3.8.3 The seven and a half wise men (C) (*Jo sras*)
**4 The manner in which the religious law (*chos-khrims*) was created**
**5 Concluding verse (*KhG*)**

[52] The fourth institution in *Lde'u*, the subject workers, is translated and analysed in detail at {3.1.11}, and is not included here.
[53] Analysed at {3.5.3}; not included here.
[54] This catalogue is not announced in the outline.

# {1} Preamble to the *Section on Law and State*

## Introduction {1}

The preamble to the *Section on Law and State* acts as an apologetic for the rest of the chapter. By inserting the story of the two Khotanese monks, and emphasising their misgivings about the draconian laws of the Tibetan ruler, an incarnate *bodhisattva*, the authors mount a pre-emptive strike at any doubts the reader might have about the contents that follow. The authors of the *SLS* were at the same time probably assuaging their own sense of cognitive dissonance about the perceived incongruity between the legacy of Srong-btsan Sgam-po as a *Dharmarāja*, and the catalogues in the *Section on Law and State* that have ostensibly very little to do with Buddhism. The insertion of this apologetic serves to establish Srong-btsan Sgam-po as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara (Spyan-ras-gzigs), who, despite the rough appearance of his laws, acts for the benefit of beings through skilful means.

This narrative is most elaborated in *Lde'u*, and mentioned only in passing in *Jo sras*. *KhG*, on the other hand, retains an entirely different preamble that emphasises the importance of writing for the creation of Tibet's administration and underlines Srong-btsan Sgam-po's role as the creator of this administration. This follows on directly from a chapter on Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. In doing so, *KhG* follows the structure of *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (*TBH*: 176-77). Both of these stories are found in the *Dba' bzhed* and the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*.

## Translation and Transliteration {1}

### *Lde'u* {1}

Then, this ancestor, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, was the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. Two Khotanese monks received a prophecy through meditating on Avalokiteśvara: 'Now I have manifested as the king of Tibet, and I am converting the Tibetans.' They came to Khra-'brug [Temple], and hearing stories of people within Central Horn having their eyes gouged out, their kneecaps sheared off and so forth as punishments implemented by Srong-btsan Sgam-po, they could not believe it. They came to Lhasa, and, not believing that it was [Avalokiteśvara] who was there in Dan-'bag in Lhasa,[55] they left, thinking, 'they say there is an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, but it is an incarnation of Mara.'

Srong-btsan Sgam-po gave an order to his attendants to turn back [the monks]. [They then brought the monks back to him.] He cast off his turban, and seeing that he was the eleven-headed one, [the monks] said,

'You are the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, but how is it that you gouge out eyes and shear off kneecaps and so forth?'

Srong-btsan Sgam-po spoke: 'I have manifested in order to convert Tibet. First I generated the mind of enlightenment (*sems-bskyed*), and from then up until now, I have not harmed a single pore of any sentient being. What supernatural powers (*siddhis*) do you two desire?'

'We just want to go back to our own country', they said.

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[55] The parallel passage in *Nyang* (266; MEISEZAHL 1985: 194.3.4-195.3.3; fol. 287b, l. 4-290a, l. 3) gives *dam 'gag* plain as a place in Central Horn (*dbu* [*sbu*] *ru*): *sbu ru'i dam 'gag gi thang la phyin pas/*. The same is true of *dan 'bag* in the parallel passage in the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* (303). This area is apparently located in the vicinity of Drepung Monastery. On the geography of Central Horn, which corresponds roughly to Central Tibet, see {3.1.1}.

‘Well then, close your eyes!’ So saying, he tossed a handful of sand and fulfilled their hopes and wishes. The two arrived in their country and the sand had turned into gold. So it is said.

Being thus an incarnation, his mind was deep and profound (*sgam*), so he received the name Srong-btsan the profound (*sgam-po*). At age thirteen his father died, and he ruled the polity for sixty-nine years. At the age of eighty-two he dissolved into the heart of the eleven-headed Mahākarunika.

Khyung-po Spu-stang Zung-tse and Mong Khri-to-ri Snang-tshab both served as ministers. Then [Mgar] Stong-btsan Yul-bzungs served for twenty-one years. Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang was appointed as minister to [the lands of] Gtsang outwards. Snubs Snya-ro Dar-btsug blon and 'O-ma-lde Khri-bzang Lo-btsan also served as ministers. So it is said.

### ***Lde'u* {1}**

*de yang mes srong btsan sgam po 'di spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa yin te/ li yul gyi ban dhe gnyis kyis spyan ras gzigs sgrub pas/ lung bstan byung ste/ da lta bod kyi rgyal po gcig tu sprul nas bod rnams 'dul gyi yod ces pa byung nas bod kyi khra 'brug tu byon pa dang / dbu ra'i*[56] *nang nas srong btsan sgam pos chad pa bcad pa'i mig gi phung*[57] *po dang / sgyid pa bregs pa la sogs pa'i lo rgyus thos pas ma mos nas/ lha sa ru byon pa dang / lha sa dan 'bag gi nang na yang de ltar 'dug pa la ma mos te/ spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa yod zer tsa na bdud kyi sprul par 'dug pa snyam nas bros pa dang / srong btsan sgam pos g.yog po la rta bskyon nas zlog pa la btang ste dbu*

[56] Read *dbu ru*.
[57] Read *phyung*.

*gzhu*[58] *phud pas zhal bcu gcig par mthong nas/ khyod thugs rje chen po'i sprul par 'dug pa la/ mig 'byin pa dang sgyid pa 'breg pa tsug lags zhes zhus pas/ srong btsan sgam po'i zhal nas ngas bod 'dul ba'i ched du sprul pa byas pa yin/ ngas dang po sems bskyed nas da lta yan chod du sems can gyi ba spu'i bu ga gcig la yang gnod pa skyel ma myong / khyod gnyis dngos grub ci 'dod gsungs pas/ ched rang gnyis kyi yul du rtol ba gcig 'dod zer nas/ 'o na mig btsum gyis shig gsungs nas lag tu bye ma spar ba re gtad bzhag pas kho rang gnyis kyi yul de slebs nas bye ma gser du song 'dug skad/ de ltar sprul pa yin pas/ thugs gang bas kyang sgam par byon pas/ mtshan yang srong btsan sgam por gtags so/ dgung lo bcu gsum na yab 'das nas/ chab srid lo drug cu rtsa dgu bzung / sku tshe lo brgyad cu gya gnyis la thugs rje chen po zhal bcu gcig pa'i thugs kar thim mo/*

*khyung po spu stang zung rtse dang / mong khri lto ri snang tshab gnyis kyis blon po byas/ de nas stong btsan yul bzung gis lo nyi shu rtsa gcig bgyis myang mang po rje zhang snang gtsang phan chad kyi blon por bskos/ snubs snya ro dar btsug blon dang 'o ma lde khri bzang lo btsan gyis kyang blon po bgyis skad/* (*Lde'u*: 252-53).

### ***Jo sras* {1}**

Srong-btsan Sgam-po, the son of Gnam-ri Srong-btsan and Lady 'Dri-ma Thod-dkar of the Tshe-spong [clan], was born. When he had reached the age of thirteen, his father died and he seized the throne. They created tomb pinnacles (*phul*), and made [the tomb] at Rtsig-pa Sogs-kha. Its name was Gung-ri Sogs-kha.[59] Then, at

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[58] The editor corrects this to *zhwa*.

[59] A parallel passage in *KhG* (172) states that the constructions of square (*gru-bzhi*) tombs came about at this time, and also describe the 'great peaks' of this tomb. The text states, 'Concerning the shape of the great peaks (*phul*), they were in the form of a shoulder blade. It is said that it was given the name

the time of Tibet's middle, degenerate age (*bod kyi dgung dus nyams pa'i dus su*), there were six kings.

Further, during the reign of the ancestor, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, the system of the holy Dharma was praised. This king was described as an incarnation of Ārya Avalokiteśvara, and Amitābha was hidden in his turban. And in Khotan two monks received a prophecy through meditating on Avalokiteśvara: 'I have manifested as the king of Tibet', he prophesied, and 'my name has arisen as the upper garland six-syllable [mantra]'. This and so forth he prophesied.

This king held the polity for about sixty-nine years. Khyung-po Su-sna Zu-tse and Mong Khri-do-re Snang-tshab served as ministers. Mong was disgraced and then 'Gar Stong-btsan Yul-gzungs served for twenty years. Gco Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje Srong-nam also served for twenty-five years. Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang was appointed as minister to [the lands of] Gtsang upwards. Snubs Snya-ro Dar-tsug blon was appointed as minister to [the lands from the] Gtsang[-po] River inwards. After 'O-ma-lde Khri-bzang Long-btsan was also appointed as minister, 'Gar offered slanders to the [Btsan-po's] ear, and 'O-ma-lde was disgraced. In the youth of this king's reign, he set up his court on Tiger peak in Lhasa. He took queens (Jo-mo) who came from China, Nepal and Zhang-zhung.

### ***Jo sras* {1}**

*gnam ri srong btsan dang tshe spong gza' 'bri ma thod dkar gyi sras srong btsan sgam po sku 'khrungs te dgung lo bcu gsum lon nas yab grongs te rgyal srid bzung ngo / de nas bang so phul skyes te rtsig pa sogs khar byas pas ming ni gung ri*

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"Sky mountain shoulder blade" (Gung-ri Sog-ka)'. The term 'pinnacles' (*phul*) describes a particular feature of the tomb construction. For details on these types of tombs, see PANGLUNG 1988.

*sogs kha bya ba yin no/ de nas bod kyi dgung dus nyams pa'i dus su rgyal po drug byung te de yang mes srong btsan sgam po'i sku ring la dam pa chos kyi srol bstod de rgyal po 'di 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul par bshad pas dbu'i la thod kyi nang na a mi de ba sbas pa dang li yul du ban rde*[60] *gnyis kyis spyan ras gzigs sgrubs pas lung bstan pa dang byung te da lta bod kyi rgyal por sprul zhing yod par lung bstan pa dang yar 'phreng yi ge drug par nga'i ming 'char ba la sogs par lung bstan pa yod do/ rgyal po 'dis chab srid lo drug bcu rtsa dgu tsam bzung khyung po su sna zu tse dang mong khri to re snang tshab kyis blon po byas mong la skyon phab pas de nas 'gar stong btsan yul gzungs kyis lo nyi shu byas gco dar rgyal mang po rje srong nam gyis kyang lo nyer lnga byas myang mang po rje dang*[61] *zhang snang gtsang yan chad kyis blon du bskor*[62] *'o ma lde khri bzang long btsan gyis kyang blon por bskos pa'i rjes la 'gar gyis snyan du phra ma gcug nas 'o ma lde la skyon phab rgyal po 'di'I sku ring la sku stod la lha sa stag ri la pho brang bcas jo mo rgyal*[63] *bal zhang zhung byung nas blangs* (*Jo sras*: 108-09).

## ***KhG* {1}**

Then the king assembled all the Tibetan subjects and issued a proclamation concerning the creation of a great religious and secular legal system. The king went into retreat for four years, studying grammar and other sciences, as a result of which the subjects said, ‘The king hasn’t come out of his court for four years—he must be an idiot. Tibet’s happiness is due to the ministers.’ Hearing this, the king thought, ‘If they consider me to be an idiot, then I will be unable to convert Tibet.’ Gathering his

[60] The editor corrects this to *de*.
[61] Unnecessary *dang*.
[62] Read *bskos*.
[63] Read *rgya*.

subjects, he said, ‘When I do not change residences, but stay in one court, the subjects are happy. [Yet] they say that the king is an idiot and that Tibet’s happiness is due to the ministers. That is not the case. I direct the ministers. And now I must create a great royal legal system (*rgyal-khrims*). In the past, since they had no laws, the minor kingdoms all blundered separately.[64] Since crime will increase and my subjects will suffer if there are still no laws, I will establish a legal system.’ So saying, he established it. So it is said.[65]

### ***KhG* {1}**

*de nas rgyal pos bod 'bangs kun bsdus te/ /lugs gnyis bka' khrims chen po bca' bar bzhed/ /rgyal pos lo bzhir mtshams mdzad nas yi ge la sogs pa'i rig gnas sbyangs pas 'bangs rnams na re rgyal po lo bzhir pho brang nas phyir mi 'byon pa glen pa cig yod par 'dug bod bde ba blon po rnams kyis byas zer ba gsan bas da la glen par brtsi na bod mi thul dgongs ste 'bangs rnams bsags nas nga 'pho bskyas ma byas par pho brang gcig na 'dug na 'bangs rnams bde ba yin ste rgyal po glen par 'dug / rgyal khams bde ba blon pos byas zer ba 'dug pa de ma yin/ blon po ngas bsgo ba yin/ da ni ngas rgyal khrims chen po bca' dgos/ sngon yang khrims med pas rgyal phran rnams so sor 'gyar ba yin/ da dung khrims med na nyes byed dar zhing nga'i 'bangs rnams sdug bsngal bar 'gyur bas khrims bca' bar bya'o gsungs nas bcas skad/* (*KhG*: 184-85; 18b, ll. 1-4)

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[64] The parallel passage in *Nyang* (174; MEISEZAHL 1985: 125.1; fol. 186a, l. 1), which may have served as a basis for *KhG*’s version, reads, ‘previously, because they had no laws, the twelve wise men wandered to the borders’ (*sngon yang khrims med pas shes pa mkhan bcu gnyis mthar 'khyaMs*). Here Nyang-ral no doubt confuses the ‘twelve wise men’ with the twelve minor kingdoms. The former are generally known as a group of twelve men who greet the first Tibetan emperor upon his descent to earth (*KhG*: 159).

[65] This passage is edited and translated in URAY 1972a: 23-26.

## Analysis {1}

As noted in the introduction, the episode of the two doubting monks is also found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (266-68; MEISEZAHL 1985: 194.3.4-195.3.3; fol. 287b, l. 4-290a, l. 3), where it is given in greater detail. Within Nyang-ral's narrative, this occurs just before Srong-btsan Sgam-po's death. While in *Jo sras*, the monks receive the prophecy through their devotion to Avalokiteśvara, in *Nyang* (266; MEISEZAHL 1985: 194.3.5; fol. 287b, l. 5), as in the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* (302-05), which contains perhaps the most complete version of this tale, it is Mañjuśrī who issues the prophecy.[66] Likewise, in the version of the tale preserved in the *Dba' bzhed*, Mañjuśrī issues the prophecy (WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 32-33). The latter account ends with the claim that 'this is correctly reported from the *Great Prophecy [of the Li Country]* ([*li yul*] *lung bstan chen mo*)

Among other things, the passage in *Nyang* adds further gory details to Srong-btsan Sgam-po's legal punishments, and the two monks claim to have seen piles of decapitated heads and the amputated limbs resulting from such punishments (*Nyang*: 266; MEISEZAHL 1985: 196.1.1; fol. 288b, l. 1). *Nyang*'s most important contribution to this narrative, considering its role in reconciling the contradictions between Srong-btsan Sgam-po's legacy as a *dharmarāja* and his legacy as an administrator, is its clarification of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's answer regarding his legal methods. While in *Lde'u* his statement that he has 'not harmed a single pore of any sentient being' seems weak and unjustified, it is obviously shorthand for a longer reply. In *Nyang* (267; MEISEZAHL 1985: 195.2.6-196.2.4; fol. 289a, l. 6-289b, l. 4), Srong-btsan Sgam-po answers the monks as follows:

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[66] Another long version of this story, based on the *Ka khol ma*, appears in *the Dpe chos dang dpe chos rin chen spungs pa* (446-47), a Bka'-dams-pa work that dates to the 13th or 14th century. I am indebted to Dr. Ulrike Roesler for bringing this work to my attention.

‘These evil subjects of mine will not be converted by peaceful means, so I manifested and acted in a wrathful manner. Now, the amputated limbs and eyes and so on—all of them are [in fact only] manifestations. Go and look. Since taking the throne, I have not done harm to a single creature.’

The two [monks] went to see, and the piles of heads and limbs and so on had become stones and slabs. This being the case, they realised that he was the incarnation, and the two of them revered him.[67]

*nga'i 'bangs 'khor nag po 'di rnams zhi bas mi 'thul bar sprul pa byas nas drag po btul ba'i tshul byas pa yin da khyod rang mgo dang mig dang yan lag bcad pa la sogs pa thams cad sprul pa yin pas ltar song dang / ngas ni gyal srid bzung nas seMs can cig la gnod pa byed ma myong gsungs pas/ khong gnyis kyis ltar phyin tsa na/ mgo bo dang yan lag bcad pa'i phung po rnaMs rdo ba dang / g.yam pa la sogs par song 'dug pas/ de sprul pa yin par shes nas khong gnyis bkyangs*[68] *te/*

Obviously this passage is far clearer than that found in *Lde'u*, which likely drew on *Nyang* or a similar source for its version of the narrative.

The preamble in *KhG*, as noted already by URAY (1972a: 46-47), is intended to glorify the Tibetan emperor at the expense of the ministers. This is made even more explicit in the version of the narrative preserved in *Nyang* (174-75; MEISEZAHL 1985: 126.1.3; fol. 185b, l. 3), as it is the ministers, and not the subjects who cast aspersions on Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s leadership. The version of this tale found in *the Bka' chems ka khol ma* (108-109) also includes a brief catalogue of Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s laws based on the ten virtues, and mentions the sixteen great codes of human conduct (*mi-chos chen-po bcu-drug*).

According to *Jo sras*, Srong-btsan Sgam-po took the throne at age thirteen, and ruled for sixty-nine years, and in this way died at the age of eighty-two. As noted by Dge-'dun Chos-'phel, and reiterated by WANGDU (1989), the tradition according to which Srong-btsan Sgam-po lived into his eighties finds its source in the

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[67] Alternatively, *bkyangs*, presumably an error by *bskyangs*, might be read as *skyengs*, indicating that the two monks were humbled and embarrassed.

[68] Read *bskyangs*.

*Mañjūśrīmūlatantra*, a passage of which is taken to prophesy the reign of this emperor. The tradition of an octogenarian Srong-btsan Sgam-po has no grounding in any known historical document. *Jo sras*' other statement, that he took the throne at age thirteen, upon his father's death, is also problematic. This is a formulaic statement found throughout Tibetan historiography that reflects a tradition according to which the emperors took the throne at age thirteen. In the most reliable document on early Tibetan history, the *Old Tibetan Annals*, there is not a single instance of succession where this takes place. On the other hand, it is clear from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* that Srong-btsan Sgam-po took the throne at an early age after his father, Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, was poisoned.

> During the reign of Emperor Srong-btsan Sgam-po, the paternal subjects became treacherous and the maternal subjects revolted. The Zhang-zhung affinal relatives (*gnyen*), the mixed (*mdzo*) Sum-pa, Nyag-nyi, Dags-po, Rkong-po, and Myang-po all revolted. The father, Gnam-rI Slon-mtshan took poison and died. The son, Srong-brtsan, being young, was not benevolent, and immediately extinguished the lineages of the poisoners and the deceitful. After that, he re-subjugated all those who had revolted. (*# / / btsan po srong brtsan sgam po 'i ring la / / yab 'bangs nI 'khus / yum 'bangs nI log / / gnyen zhang zhung / mdzo sum pa / / nyag nyI dags po / / rkong po / myang po kun kyang log / / yab gnam rI slon mtshan dug bon te bkrongs so / / sras srong brtsan sku gzhon ma phan te / / gzod ma dku' ba dang / dug pa rnams rabs bchad do / / de 'i rjes la / de 'I myi log kun 'bangsu slar bkug go' / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 299-303).

Based on this evidence, and following the lead of Dge-'dun Chos-'phel, most modern scholars reject the idea that Srong-btsan Sgam-po lived into his eighties. In consort with TUCCI (1971 [1947]), who demonstrated the reliability of post-dynastic Tibetan histories regarding the dates of the Tibetan rulers (e.g., that while their use of the sixty-year cycle led to errors, they were often correct regarding the animal year of the twelve-year cycle), some scholars reject the earth ox (*sa mo glang*) year 569 in favour of the fire ox (*me mo glang*) year 617 (HAZOD 2000a: 174-75). This is unacceptable, however, when one takes into account the evidence of the *Old Tibetan*

*Annals* and the *Royal Genealogy*, according to which Srong-btsan Sgam-po bore a son, Gung-srong Gung-rtsan, who took the throne in the early to mid 640s, had a son, Mang-slon Mang-rtsan, by the Chinese princess Wen-ceng Kong-co, then died in c.646, after which Srong-btsan Sgam-po reassumed the throne and married his son's wife, the Chinese princess.[69] Taking this into account, BECKWITH (1987: 19, n. 31),

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[69] The matter of whether or not Chinese blood ran through the Tibetan royal lineage is a touchy one, with scholars such as Uebach and Yamaguchi offering strong arguments on either side of the issue. On the face of it, the solution is rather clear-cut: the *Royal Genealogy* in PT 1286 plainly states that Gung-srong Gung-rtsan and Khon-co Mang-mo-rje KhrI-skar bore the son Mang-slon Mang-rtsan. Uebach's counterargument to this, however, is based on an entry in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the horse year 706 in which it states that 'the grandmother (*pyi*) Mang-pangs died (*nongs*)'. This year falls, of course, during the reign of grandmother (*pyi*) Khri-ma-lod, in the minority of Rgyal Gtsug-ru/ Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan. Based on the fact that Khri-ma-lod was the grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru/ Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan, and based also on the fact that *pyi/ phyi* can indicate either grandmother or great-grandmother, UEBACH (1997: 57) argues that Mang-pangs was the great-grandmother of Rgyal Gtsug-ru/ Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan, thus making her the mother of Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan and the wife of Gung-srong. Quite correctly, Uebach takes the source value of the *Annals* to be greater than that of the *Royal Genealogy*. UEBACH (1997: 66) thus concludes that 'there is no doubt that the *Geneaology* providing the Chinese title *kung-chu* in Tibetan rendering *khon-co* preceding the Tibetan name Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar is corrupt'. Uebach thus appears to demonstrate that the Chinese princess Wen-cheng Kong-co never bore a Tibetan emperor. This is well-argued, and certainly holds true if one does not admit the possibility that *phyi* could refer to a great aunt, that is, one of Khri Mang-slon's junior queens who did not bear a Btsan-po, one of Khri Mang-slon's sisters, a sister of Khri-ma-lod, or perhaps more to the point, a maternal grandmother. Given that *pyi/ phyi* might refer to a real or classificatory grandmother or great-grandmother, Uebach's conclusion, though perhaps correct, cannot be accepted with any degree of certainty. The *Royal Genealogy* should thus be read at face value until it is truly disproved by conflicting evidence.

While Gung-srong Gung-rtsan is absent from the *Old Tibetan Annals*, his existence is implied in two entries. The last entry in the 'preamble', dating to 649, reads as follows: 'Then after six years Btsan-po Khri Srong-rtsan departed to heaven. He had been married to Princess Mun-cang Kong-co for three years (*btsan mo mun cang kong co dang dgung lo gsum bshos so/)'*. This passage, coupled with the *Royal Genealogy*'s statement that Gung-srong Gung-rtsan and Kong-co Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar bore the son Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (*DTH*: 82, 88; DOTSON 2004: 88), indicates that the Chinese princess came to Tibet as the bride of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's son, Gung-srong Gung-rtsan. It is likely, therefore, that Gung-srong ruled as emperor for a short while before his death in c.646 precipitated Srong-btsan Sgam-po's 'second rein'. It is particularly interesting that in addition to taking the throne from his deceased son, Srong-btsan Sgam-po also took his son's wife, and cohabitated with her until his death three years later in 649. Interestingly, this partly confirms a statement concerning the Tibetans in the *Bei shi*, a Chinese source that offers a vignette of Tibetan culture at the turn of the seventh century, which might otherwise be viewed as a typical bit of ethnocentrism: 'They marry their widowed mothers and sisters-in-law—when a son or younger brother dies, the father and elder brother(s) also take his wife' (BECKWITH 1977: 106).

The first entry of the *Annals*, for the dog year 650, also implies the existence of another Tibetan emperor between Srong-btsan Sgam-po and Mang-slon Mang-rtsan by referring to the former as the 'grandfather' (*mes*), and to the latter as the 'grandson' (*sbon*). It remains unclear, however, why Gung-srong is not mentioned in the *Annals*. One possibility is that Srong-btsan Sgam-po's marriage to his deceased son's wife was considered somewhat irregular, and that the present record reflects the resulting whitewash. In any case, this marriage of the aging Srong-btsan Sgam-po to the Chinese princess is in fact the historical basis for a tradition in later Tibetan history according to which the second Chinese princess, Jin-cheng Kong-co, married an old, bearded Tibetan emperor.

who unfortunately follows the theory according to which the emperors succeeded each other at the age of thirteen, proposes 618 as the date of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan's death and Srong-btsan Sgam-po's accession to the throne. This is based on the solid reasoning that for Srong-btsan Sgam-po to be a grandfather in the mid-640s, he could not have been born as late as 617. Following this same logic, but without the hindrance of the theory that the Tibetan emperors took the throne at age thirteen, we can work backwards as follows. Gung-srong ruled as emperor from c.640 to c.646. Wen-ceng Kong-co arrived as his bride in 641, and probably bore a son not long after, in c.643. Let us assume the latest dates possible, however, and suppose that Mang-srong Mang-rtsan was not born until the year of his father's death, c.646, and that, following post-dynastic tradition, Gung-srong was aged eighteen at the time of his death. This would mean that c.628 is the latest possible date for Gung-srong's birth. Given that Srong-btsan Sgam-po may have not even reached puberty by this time, it refutes the position that Srong-btsan Sgam-po was born in 617. The most likely date for Srong-btsan Sgam-po's birth, if we are to accord with the tradition according to which he was born in an ox year, is therefore 605.[70]

*Jo sras*' statement concerning this ruler's pedigree as the 'son of Gnam-ri Srong-btsan and Lady 'Dri-ma Thod-dkar of the Tshe-spong [clan]' is confirmed in the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), which renders his mother's name 'Lady 'Bring-ma Thog-dgos of the Tshes-pong clan' (PT 1286, l. 62).[71]

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There are many more such instances of 'transference' in Tibetan historiography, whereby events pertaining to one period are mistakenly attributed to another. BLEZER (*forthcoming*) analyses this phenomenon in the context of Bon-po historiography. For further discussion of Gung-srong and this marriage, see YAMAGUCHI 1969 and 1970a and BECKWITH 1987: 23, n. 54.

[70] For further discussion of the date of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's birth, see HAZOD 2000a: 174-75 and WANGDU 1989.

[71] For the Tibetan text, see *CD2*, pl. 556. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 16. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 88. See also DOTSON 2004: 88.

More interesting, however is the information given here about this ruler's ministers. The statement in *Lde'u*, and particularly that in *Jo sras*, resemble chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which is a succession of prime ministers (*blon-rabs*). It contains brief anecdotes about the prime ministers of Tibet from the reign of Emperor Lde Pru-bo Gnam-gzhung-rtsan onwards. This same Btsan-po is listed in the *Royal Genealogy* as the $17^{th}$ in the line of Btsan-po, ten generations before Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan, who is often regarded as the first of the historical rulers.[72] After naming the twelfth prime minister in the succession and briefly mentioning his merits, the text states,

> Up to and including this minister, the ministers were endowed with sacred power (*'phrul*). They were firm and steadfast (*stag-brtan dang 'dom*) and their wisdom was without measure. No men have been born [since] who measure up to them. (*'dI yan chad kyi blon po 'phrul dang ldan te / ltag brnyan dang 'dom / ste / / 'dzangs kyang tshad myed do / / myI de lte bu ma skyes pa tsam gyi tshod do*) (PT 1287, ll. 73-74).[73]

The succession then introduces nearly all of the ministers mentioned in the *Section on Law and State*.

| <u>Succession of Prime Ministers (*OTC*)</u> | <u>*Section on Law and State* (*Jo sras*)</u> |
|---|---|
| [13.] Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab. | Khyung-po Su-sna Zu-tse |
| [14.] Mgar Khri-sgra 'DzI-rmun. | Mong Khri-do-re Snang-tshab |
| [15.] Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang. | 'Gar Stong-btsan Yul-gzungs |
| [16.] Mgar Mang-sham Sum-snang. | Gco Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje Srong-nam |
| [17.] Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse. | Myang Mang-po-rje dang Zhang-snang |
| [18.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung. | Snubs Snya-ro Dar-tsug blon |
| [19.] 'O-ma-lde Lod-btsan. | 'O-ma-lde Khri-bzang Long-btsan |
| [20.] Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung. | |

[72] Significantly, it is during Lha Tho-do Snya-brtsan's reign that the genealogy first gives the name of an earthly queen. As such, it may indicate a passage into a murky intermediate stage between myth and history and, as it is six generations back from Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po), the extent of genealogical memory (DOTSON 2004: 87).

[73] For the Tibetan text, see *CD2*, pl. 559. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 19. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 129.

One of the obvious qualitative differences between the two lists is that while the 'Succession of Prime Ministers' only names prime ministers, the list in the *Section on Law and State* does not distinguish ranks. The two documents therefore complement each other, and can be used together to form a more complete picture of the various ministers' careers. Based on the chronology of such figures as Myang Zhang-snang, Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse and Mgar Stong-rtsan, established from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and the *Old Tibetan Annals,* it is evident that the chronology in the *Section on Law and State* is somewhat confused. Still, the document illuminates the picture given in the Old Tibetan sources.

The 'Succession of Prime Ministers' states that after Zu-tse's death, Mgar Stong-rtsan served as chief minister.

> Yul-zung grew old and 'O-ma Lde-lod-btsan was installed. Not long after, he became disloyal and was killed. Then Minister Stong-rtsan was re-installed. He served for six more years, then became old and died. (*yul zung rgas nas / / 'o ma lde lod btsan bcug go' / / rIng po ma rag par glo ba rings nas bkum mo / / 'ung nas blon stong rtsan slar bcug ste / lo drug bgyis / nas / / rgas te gum mo*) (PT 1287, ll. 102-04).[74]

*Jo sras* adds another fold to these events by claiming that 'O-ma-lde Khri-bzang Long-btsan's death was as a result of a slander by Mgar Stong-rtsan.

The *Section on Law and State* pairs Khyung-po Su-sna Zu-tse and Mong Khri-do-re Snang-tshab as having served at the same time, while the 'Succession of Prime Ministers' places three intervening prime ministers between them. The 'Succession of Prime Ministers' also attributes to Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab the defeat of Mar-mun, lord (Jo-bo) of Rtsang-bod. This is problematic, because chapter four of the

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[74] For the Tibetan text, see *CD2*, pl. 560. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 20. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 131.

*Chronicle* states that Zu-tse cut off Mar-mun's head, and underlines the conflict between Zu-tse and Mong.

> During the reign of this king [Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan], Khyung-po Spung-sad cut off the head of Mar-mun, lord of Rtsang-bod, and offered twenty thousand households of Rtsang-bod to the hands of the emperor. Zu-tse was loyal. Then Emperor Slon-mtshan granted the twenty thousand households of Rtsang-bod to Zu-tse as a gift for his loyalty.
>
> Later, Mong Sngon-po was disloyal to the emperor and his brother, and being loyal, Zu-tse hatched a plot and killed Mong Sngon-po before he harmed either the body of the emperor or his brother. Zu-tse was loyal.
> (*rgyal po 'dI 'i ring la / / khyung po spung sad kyis / rtsang bod kyi rjo bo mar mun mgo bchad de / / rtsang bod khyim nyi gri / / btsan po 'i pyag du pulte / zu tse glo ba nye 'o / / 'ung nas / btsan po slon btsan gyIs / / rtsang bod khyim nyi grI / / zu tse glo ba nye ba 'i bya dga'r stsal to / / 'ung gI 'og du / / btsan po mched gnyis la / / mong sngon po glo ba rIngs pa / zu tse glo ba nye bas dku' bel nas / / btsan po mched gnyIs kyi sku la ma dar par / / mong sngon po bkuM ste / / zu tse glo ba nye 'o*) (PT 1287, 198-202).[75]

It is evident from the way the phrase 'Zu-tse was loyal' punctuates each paragraph that this particular passage is something of a paean to this controversial minister. The real quandary is whether or not Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab is the same person as Mong Sngon-po. Both are linked to Zu-tse in passages of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and one attractive explanation is that Mong 'the Blue' (Sngon-po) may have been an epithet or nickname of Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab.

One of the most interesting claims in the *Section on Law and State* appears to describe Myang Zhang-snang's early career before he was appointed prime minister. We know from chapter four of the *Chronicle* that Myang Zhang-snang rose from relative obscurity after singing a rejoinder to Zu-tse at Emperor Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan's request (*DTH*: 140-43; BECKWITH 1977: 210-14). The *SLS* mentions the splitting up of jurisdictions between Myang Zhang-snang and Snubs Snya-ro Dar-tsug

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[75] For text, see *CD2*, pl. 564. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 24. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 139. See also the translation in BECKWITH 1977: 208.

blon, with the latter acting as minister from the Gtsang[-po] River (Sanskrit: Brāhmapūtra) inwards, and Myang acting as minister from the Gtsang-po outwards. Their respective jurisdictions appear to be divided into north and south by the Brāhmapūtra, with Myang acting as minister north of the River, and Snubs acting as minister south of the river. This also fits with other events in Tibetan history: Myang Zhang-snang's father was from 'Phan-yul, and Zhang-snang would go on to subjugate the Sum-pa, a people to the north. Myang Zhang-snang subsequently became prime minister, but was disgraced due to machinations by Zu-tse (PT 1287, ll. 307-14). Snubs outlasted Myang as a minister, as Gnubs Snya-do-re Gtsug-blon is mentioned in chapter five of the *OTC* as one of the witnesses of Dba's Dbyi-tshab's oath of fealty with Srong-btsan Sgam-po (PT 1287, l. 276), and event that occurred after Myang Zhang-snang was disgraced.[76]

Regarding the practice of splitting ministerial jurisdiction along the Gtsang-po River, the same chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* also mentions two officials acting as ministers of the near side and far side of the river:

> Previously, during the reign of my father, you two, 'Bring-to-re Sbung-brtsan and Phangs-ro-re Dbyi-tshab, were made ministers (*gung-blon*) of the near and far sides of the river. This was established, but then 'Bring-to-re Sbung-brtsan died. (*snga na nga 'I yab kyi rIng la / / 'bring tho re sbung brtsan / dang / / phangs to re dbyi tshab dang khyed gnyIs / / chab pha rol tshu rol gyi / / gung blon 'tshol chig par dgod /dgod pa las / 'bring to re sbung brtsan nI shi*) (PT 1287, ll. 256-58).[77]

The only name mentioned in the *Section on Law and State* that is not found in the 'Succession of Prime Ministers' or the rest of the *Chronicle*, Gco Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje Srong-nam, may be traceable through other sources. Dar-rgyal/ Da-rgyal was

[76] See *DTH*: 145.
[77] For text, see *CD2*, pl. 566. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 26. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 144.

the name of the royal lineage of Dags-po, though their apparent identity with the Gco clan implied here may be unique to *Jo sras*.[78]

The preamble to the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* reveals separate imperatives from those in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*. While the latter are each concerned with harmonising Srong-btsan Sgam-po's legacy as an incarnate *bodhisattva* and a *dharmarāja* with the secular institutions that follow in the catalogues of the *SLS*, the preamble in *KhG* focuses its energies on a decidedly royalist project. The main imperative in *KhG*'s passage is to demonstrate that it is the king, and not the ministers, who rules the country and establishes the law as a basis for Tibet's welfare and happiness. In this respect, the imperatives of this passage overlap completely with those of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which, while it does glorify certain ministers, is essentially a royalist document.

[78] URAY (1963: 206) demonstrated that the royal line of Dags-po was referred to as Da-rgyal. As pointed out by UEBACH (1997: 61, n. 17), this fact was overlooked by Petech, Richardson and Yamaguchi, who all followed Thomas' assumption that Dbon Da-rgyal was to be identified with Dbon 'A-zha rje. Though their errors may stem from Thomas, a text published by Thomas himself in fact demonstrates that Da-rgyal was the ruler of Dags-po. IOL Tib J 734, published by Thomas as text four in *AFL*, states in lines 333-34 (pp. 76, 94) that Dar-rgyal Sprog-zin was the ruler of Dags-yul Shing-nag. This is further corroborated by the catalogue of minor kingdoms of PT 1286, in which Dags-rgyal gyi Sprog-zin is named as the ruler of Dags kyi Gru-bzhi (PT 1286, ll. 18-19).

# {2} Outline of Tibet's Institutions

## Introduction {2}

As mentioned above in the explanation of the composite outline of the *Section on Law and State*, the structure in *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* is nearly identical. Despite the fact that the *SLS* in *KhG* was based mostly on *Lde'u*, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag employs a separate structure. The outlines are presented below in their three versions. The numbering follows that of the composite outline, and takes into account the three main sources. For this reason, the individual outlines of each version of the *SLS* sometimes lack passages or phrases mentioned in the composite outline. In *Lde'u*, for example, the outline skips from {2.5} to {2.7}, because {2.6}, included in the composite outline, is found only in *Jo sras*.

## Translation and Transliteration {2}

### *Lde'u* {2}

{2.1} When this king was young, he divided Tibet into four horns and {2.2} partitioned the Horn of Sum-pa as an additional district (*sna-lag sder bcad*). {2.3} He gathered under his dominion the four appointed kings, {2.4} built eight watch-posts (*so-kha*) in the lands {2.5} and made the twelve minor kingdoms into his servants and subjects. {2.7} The six clans of paternal subjects tended the body of the lord. {2.9} The three (classificatory) maternal uncles and the four ministers held the central assembly. {2.12} The divisions of the heroes Ldong and Stong tamed the Chinese and

Turks (Dru-gu) of the frontiers. {2.13} The 360 *khab stong-sde* served as soldiers and border [guards]. {2.14} The hundred *cha* households ploughed the fields and tamed the badlands (*tha-rgod*). {2.15} The nine experts (*mkhan*), seven rulers (read *srid-pa* for *sris-pa*), seven herdsmen, the seven merchants and seven and one half civilian men (*g.yung-po*) acted as subordinate subjects (*snying-'bangs*) and three[79] subjects and fulfilled the wishes of the ruler. So it is said.

{2.16} At that time, there being the legal customs (*khrims chos*) concerning the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*, these bound Tibet in general. {2.18} The five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*) cleared away internal hostility. {2.19} The five kinds of soldiers subdued external enemies. {2.20} The six kinds of armour (*go*) protected the inner life-force (*srog*). {2.21} The 6 X 6 = 36 codes (*tshig*) established Tibet in happiness. {2.22} The six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) of the superior acted for the benefit of beings. {2.24} They divided the pastures (*'brog*) into *thul*[80] and {2.25} they laid out the fields (*zhing*) into *the-gu*.[81] {2.26} During the time of the seven great high ministers (*dgung-blon*), they established boats on the rivers. {2.27} They built toll-stations on the mountain passes. {2.28} They convoked the chiefs of the soldiers. {2.29} Having defeated the Chinese and Turks at the borders, they created the thousand[-districts] of Tibet. {2.30} The law (*bka'-khrims*) earnestly bound [the polity]. {2.31} The lord's orders were based on consultation. {2.32} [The ministers] acted as brothers in giving counsel on subjects' petitions. {2.33} At that time the sixteen codes of human conduct (*mi-chos*) governed behaviour. {2.34} They took as a model the ten virtues of the

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[79] *Jo sras* has *yang* instead of *gsum*, which makes far more sense. *Lde'u* is surely mistaken here.

[80] *Jo sras*: 'Herdsmen (*thul-mi*) were appointed to all the pastures'. *Thul* appears to be a land unit, thus ruling out the reading in *Jo sras* (see *infra*, 3.8.3).

[81] This would seem to be a measure of area. *The* can mean 'one hundred', and *gu* is diminutive, so the phrase may mean 'little hundreds', or 'fifties' (see *infra*, 3.8.3).

divine [Buddhist] religion (*lha-chos*). {2.35} By practising the ten virtues in body and speech, they taught the path to higher realms and liberation.

### ***Lde'u* {2}**

*rgyal po 'di'i sku tshe stod la bod ru bzhir phye/ sum pa'i ru sna lag sder bcad/ bskos pa'i rgyal po sde bzhi mnga' 'og tu bsdus/ so kha rgya yul du bcas/ rgyal phran bcu gnyis bran dang 'bangs su bcad/ yab 'bangs rus drug ni rje'i sku 'tsho/ zhan gsum blon bzhis dbus kyi 'dun sa 'dzin/ dpa' sde ldong stong gis mtha'i rgya drug 'dul/ khab stong sde sum brgya drug bcus dmag dang mu byed/ cha mi khyim brgya yis zhing rmod tha rgod 'dul/ mkhan dgu rdzi bdun dang / tshong pa mi bdun dang / g.yung po mi phyed dang brgyad kyis nying 'bangs gsum 'bangs byas nas rje'i thugs dam skong skad/*

*dus de tsa na tshan bcu sde bcu lags pa'i khrims chos ni bod kyi spyi chings byas/ zhal mchu rnam pa lngas nang gi 'khon sbyangs/ dmag rnam pa lngas phyi'i dgra 'dul/ go rnam pa drug gis nang gi srog skyabs/ tshig drug drug sum bu rtsa drug gis bod bde la bkod/ bla'i rkyen drug gis 'gro ba'i don byed/ 'brog thul gyis bgos/ zhing the gus bcal/ dgung blon chen po ba bdun gyis ring la/ chu la gru btsugs/ la la lab rtsas*[82] *brtsigs/ dmag mi'i dpon bsdus/ mtha'i rgya drug btul nas bod kyi stong skyed/ bka' khrims kyi nan bsdams/ rje'i bka' bstsal la gros kyi rgyu byas/ 'bangs kyi mchid tshig la gros kyi spun bya bgyis/*

*dus de tsa na mi chos bcu drug gis spyod lam gyi kha bzung / lha chos dge ba bcu la don gyi dpe blangs nas lus ngag gis dge ba bcu spyad pas mtho ris dang thar pa'i lam ston* (*Lde'u*: 253-54).

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[82] Read *la-btsas*.

## ***Jo sras* {2}**

{2} [The king] instituted the law, {2.1} divided Tibet into horns, {2.2} partitioned Sum-pa as a district (*sde*) {2.3} and gathered under his power the appointed kings of the four directions. {2.4} He marked out the eight watch-posts in the country {2.5} and gathered under his power the subjects of the twelve minor kingdoms. {2.6} The Tibetan lord and ministers raised the superior polity from [its already lofty heights] (*bla'i chab nas 'degs*). {2.7} The six clans of paternal subjects tended to the body of the lord. {2.8} The six types of firm subjects (*btsan-'bangs*) fulfilled [his] needs and desires on time. {2.9} The three (classificatory) maternal uncles and the four ministers held the central assembly. {2.10} The four great ones, five with the *ring*, held the foundation of the authority (*bla'i gzhi*). {2.11} The nine great ones, ten with the *ring*, took care of [Tibet's] needs. {2.12} The divisions of the heroes Ldong ['Dong] and Stong tamed the Chinese and Dru-gu of the frontiers. {2.13} The 360 *khab stong-sde* served as soldiers and [guarded] the frontier. {2.14} The hundred *mya* households (*mya mi khyim*) ploughed the fields and tamed [cleared] the upper valleys. {2.15} The nine experts (*mkhan*), the seven rulers (read *srid-pa* for *sris-pa*), the seven herders (*rdzi*), the seven merchants and the seventeen and a half civilians (*g.yung*) acted as subordinate subjects (*snying-'bangs*) and subject's subjects (*yang-'bangs*) and fulfilled the lord's wishes. {2.17} The five kinds of laws (*khrims*) bound Tibet in general. {2.18} The five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*) cleared away internal and external hostility. {2.19} The five kinds of soldiers subdued the external enemies. {2.20} The six kinds of armour (*go*) protected the body and the life-force (*srog*). {2.21} The 6 X 6 = 36 codes (*tshig*) established Tibet in happiness. {2.22} The six 'qualities' of the superior acted for the benefit of beings. {2.23} The seven

and a half wise men arranged the institutions (*khod*) of bliss and happiness.[83] {2.24} They appointed herdsmen (*thul-mi*) to all the pastures. {2.25} They laid out all the fields into *the-gu*. {2.26} During the time of the sixteen great high ministers (*dgung-blon*), they established boats on the rivers. {2.27} They built toll-stations (*la-btsas*) on the mountain passes. {2.28} They convoked the chiefs of the soldiers. {2.29} After defeating the Chinese and Turks at the borders, they created the thousand-districts of Tibet. {2.30} The law earnestly bound [the polity]. {2.31} The lord's orders were based on consultation. {2.32} Concerning the attitude of the ministers, they acted as brethren in speech and demeanor (*blo-sna la mchid 'gros kyi spun byas*). {2.33} The sixteen codes of human conduct (*mi-chos*) were the foundation of behavior. {2.34} They took as a model the ten virtues of the divine [Buddhist] religion (*lha-chos*). {2.35} By encouraging the activity of virtues of the body, they taught the path to higher realms and liberation.

### ***Jo sras* {2}**

*khrims bcas te bod la rur phye sum pa sder bcad bskos pa'i rgyal po sde bzhi mngar bsdus so kha brgyad yul du bcad rgyal phran bcu gnyis 'bangs kyi*[84] *mngar bsdus bod kyi rje blon gyis bla'i chab nas 'degs yab 'bangs rus drug gis rje'i sku 'tsho btsan 'bangs sde drug gis dgos 'dod dus su bskong zhang gsum blon bzhis dbus kyi 'dun sa 'dzin che bzhi ring dang lngas bla'i gzhi 'dzin che dgu ring dang bcus dgos pa'i gnyer len dpal*[85] *sde 'dong*[86] *stong gis mtha'i rgya drug 'dul khab stong sde sum brgya drug bcus ni dmag dang mu byed mya myi*

[83] This group is also known as the 'seven magical and wise ministers' (*'phrul blon mdzangs mi bdun*), who created successive technological advances under different rulers. Their names and inventions are catalogued at {3.8.3}.
[84] Read *kyi 'bangs* for *'bangs kyi*.
[85] Read *dpa'*.
[86] Read *ldong*.

*khyim brgyas zhing rmed phu 'dul/ mkhan dgu sris pa bdun rdzi bdun tshong pa mi bdun g.yung po mi phyed bco brgyad kyis ni snying 'bangs yang 'bangs su byas nas rje'i 'dod pa bskong/ /khrims rnam pa lngas bod spyir bcings zhal mchu rnam pa lngas phyi nang gi mkhon sbyangs/ tshig drug drug sum bcu rtsa drug gis bod bde ba la bkod bla'i rkyen drug gis 'gro ba'i don byed 'dzangs pa'i mi phye dang brgyad kyis bde skyid kyi khod shom/ 'brog thams cad ni thul mis bsgos zhing thams cad ni the gus bcal/ dgung blon chen po bcu drug gi ring la chu la gru btsugs/ la la la btsas brtsigs/ dmag mi'i dpon bsdus/ mtha'i rgya drug btul nas bod kyi steng rdang*[87] *bskyed/ bka' khrims kyi*[88] *nan gdams*[89]*/ rje'i bka' rtsal la gros gyi rgyu byas/ zhang blon gyi blo sna la mchid 'gros kyi spun byas/ mi chos bcu drug gis spyod lam gyi gzhi bzung / lha chos dge ba bcu la don gyi dpe blang/ lus kyi dge ba spyod par bskul bas mtho ris dang thar pa'i lam bstan no* (*Jo sras*: 109-10).

### *KhG* {2}

He created the six great legal codes. First he divided Tibet into five horns, then [2] he created the eighteen shares of power, [3] divided [Tibet into] into sixty-one military thousand-districts and [4] divided [Tibet into] into civilian districts of servants (*kheng*) and servants' servants (*yang kheng*). [5] The three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*), together with the minister, held the central council. [6] The

[87] Read *stong sde*. I follow Uebach's initial reading of *steng-rdang* as *stong-sde* (UEBACH 1989: 824, n. 20). This is likely the result of a scribe taking the *na-ro* as two *dreng-bo*, taking the *ra-mgo* as a *sa-mgo*, and taking the following *tsheg* as a *nga* suffix in the *dbu-med* manuscript.

[88] Read *kyis*.

[89] Read *bsdams*.

three regiments of heroes protected the watch-posts of the frontiers. These are called the 'six institutions of Tibet' (*bod kyi khos drug*).

Further, as for the six legal codes, they were: the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, the law of *'Bum-gser thog Sha-ba can*, the law taking the kingdom as an example (*Rgyal- khams dper blangs kyi khrims*), the law created at the request of the Mdo-lon (*Mdo-lon zhu bcas kyi khrims*), the general law created by the governors (*Dbang-chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*), the internal law of the revenue collectors (*Khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*).

**_KhG_ {2}**

*bka' yi khrims yig chen po rnams drug mdzad/ /thog mar bod yul ru chen lnga ru phye/ /yul gyi dbang ris rnam pa bco brgyad bcad/ /rgod kyi stong sde drug bcu rtsa gcig phye/ /g.yung gi mi sde kheng dang yang kheng 'byed/ /zhang gsum blon bcas dbus kyi 'dun sa 'dzin/ /dpa' sde gsum gyis mtha' yi so kha srung / /de la bod kyi khos drug zhes su grags/ /de yang khrims yig drug ni/ khri rtse 'bum bzher gyi khrims/ 'bum gser thog sha ba can gyi khrims/ rgyal khams dper blangs kyi khrims/ mdo lon zhu bcad kyi khrims/ dbang chen bcad kyi sphyi khrims/ khab so nang pa'i khrims te drug go/* (*KhG*: 185; 18b, ll. 4-6).

## Analysis {2}

The outline in *KhG* is not entirely accurate, as it lists only the six institutions and the six legal codes, omitting the thirty-six institutions. These three groups make up the entirety of the *SLS* in *KhG*, and are catalogued from {3.5} to {3.7}. *KhG*'s outline therefore corresponds very little with those of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*.

The opening statement in *Lde'u* “When this king was young...” refers to a tradition according to which Srong-btsan Sgam-po created the royal or secular law (*rgyal-khrims*) in his youth, and the religious law (*chos-khrims*) in his old age. Thus *Jo sras* (115) states at {4}, ‘Then, in the latter part of his life, the king reached the stage of a *dharmarāja*, and introduced the religious law’ (*de nas rgyal pos tshe smad la chos kyi rgyal po'i sa bzung nas chos khrims kyi srol bstod de/*).

Most of the institutions announced in the outline are described in detail in the catalogues that follow, and will be dealt with there. Some, however, are never enumerated in the catalogues, and will therefore be discussed here. These are mainly confined to those announced at the beginning of the outline and those announced at the end. These are: {2.3}, {2.5}, {2.6}, {2.7}, {2.13}, {2.14}, {2.28}, {2.30}, {2.31}, {2.32} and {2.35}.

{2.3}: ‘He gathered under his dominion the four appointed kings’; {2.5}: ‘he made the twelve minor kingdoms into his servants and subjects’; and {2.6}: ‘the Tibetan lord and ministers raised the superior polity from [its already lofty heights]’ (*bla'i chab nas 'degs*) are all rather formulaic statements describing the establishment of the Tibetan Empire. The four appointed kings, or kings of the four directions, like the twelve minor kingdoms, are a symbol of the known world that was conquered and incorporated into the empire. The narrative development of the kings of the four directions is treated in STEIN 1961a: 6, and in further detail in STEIN 1959: 252-61 so it will be sufficient here only to state that they generally function as a symbol of the known world, and that this is indeed their role in the above passage. As discussed elsewhere, the catalogues of the minor kingdoms in Old Tibetan sources follow a formulaic structure according to which they are enumerated as 12 + 1 = 13 (DOTSON *forthcoming a*). So it is that the 12 + 1 = 13 minor kingdoms announced in the *Royal*

*Genealogy* are actually eighteen in number. Following this enumeration, the author(s) of the *Royal Genealogy* reveal in the following passage the political imperatives for such a catalogue of minor kingdoms.

> This being how the minor kings and their ministers were arranged in their own territories in ancient times, they acted as rulers of these great territories. These mighty kings and their wise and cunning ministers [all] fell, each [conquering] the other. As for their subjugation, in the end they could not withstand the military power (lit. 'helmet'; *dbu-mog*) of 'O-lde Spu-rgyal; punishing them with divine punishment and bringing them into harmony with lordly diplomacy, he annexed them. (*gna' yul yul na rgyal pran dang / blon po 'dI ltar bab ste / / myi mang gI rje / yul che ' bdag byed byed pa las / rgyal po btsan ba dang / blon po 'dzangs pa dku' bo che rnams kyis / gchig gIs gchig brlag ste / 'bangs su bkug na / mtha' ma 'o lde spu rgyal gyI dbu rmog ma thub ste / mnar nI lha nar gyis mnard / thun nI rje thun gyis bthun te bkug go / /* (PT 1286, ll. 26-29).[90]

The narrative use of the twelve minor kingdoms in PT 1286 and in the *SLS* is identical: they each announce the foundation of the empire in ancient times. Similarly, {2.6} 'the Tibetan lord and ministers raised the superior polity from [its already lofty heights]' refers to the success of the empire after its foundation.

{2.7}: 'The six clans of paternal subjects tended the body of the lord', is a more complicated matter. We find references to the paternal subjects in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, where they form an essential part of the ruler's power base. In the first chapter of the *Chronicle*, Dri-gum Btsan-po alienates his paternal subjects, who are referred to as 'the paternal subjects, the nine fathers' (*yab-'bangs pha dgu*).

> Having received this name, it harmed him and settled in his mind. The divine son acted according to the ways of men: he was endowed with divinity, majesty, the powers of travelling to the heavens, and so forth, but could not overcome his ignorance and arrogance. Eschewing fierce rivals, he challenged the nine fathers comprising the paternal subjects and the three groups of maternal subjects: 'Who dares serve as an enemy and take the role of the yak?'

[90] For the Tibetan text, see *CD2*, pl. 555. For transliteration, see *CD3*: 14. For Bacot and Toussaint's French translation, see *DTH*: 129. See also the translation and analysis in MACDONALD 1971: 198.

(*mtshan btags nongste / thugs su yang zhugs / lde sras myI 'i myi tshul te / mngon bar dgung du gshegs pa la stsogs pa 'phrul dang byIn ched po mnga' bas / drod dang dregs ma thub ste / / btsan 'dran bda' nas / yab 'bangs pha dgu' dang / yum 'bangs tshan gsum la dgra ru rgal g.yag du drung phod dam zhes bka' stsal na /*) (PT 1287, ll. 6-9).

As noted at {1}, the beginning of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's reign is also marked by a rebellion of the paternal and maternal subjects. This revolt occurs in the context of the young ruler's overzealous persecution of his father's poisoners, and his execution of their families.

During the reign of Emperor Srong-brtsan Sgam-po, the paternal subjects became treacherous and the maternal subjects revolted. The Zhang-zhung affinal relatives (*gnyen*), the mixed (*mdzo*) Sum-pa, Nyag-nyi, Dags-po, Rkong-po and Myang-po all revolted. (*btsan po srong brtsan sgam po 'i ring la / / yab 'bangs nI 'khus / yum 'bangs nI log / / gnyen zhang zhung / mdzo sum pa / / nyag nyI dags po / / rkong po / myang po kun kyang log / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 299-300).

While the passage names a number of areas, it is uncertain whether these are associated with the paternal and maternal subjects, or represent an entirely separate group.

In neither of the above examples are the paternal subjects six in number. We do find this formulation, however, in several post-dynastic histories. In *KhG*, for example, we find the following passage concerning the Gnya'-khri Btsan-po's descent from heaven to earth.

First he descended to the peak of Mt. Lha-ri Gyang-tho. Then he arrived at Lha-ri rol-po Btsan-thang Sgo-bzhi. At that time, several fortunate men of Tibet saw him. The twelve wise men had audience with [Gnya'-khri Btsan-po]. [They were]: the mighty (*bstan-pa*) Lho and Gnyags, the noble (*btsun-pa*) Khyung and Snubs, and the powerful (*gnyan-pa*) Se and Sbo comprising the six clans of paternal subjects, and... (*dang por lha ri gyang tho'i rtse la bab// lha ri rol po btsan thang sgo bzhir byon// de tshe bod mi skal ldan 'ga' yis mthong// btsan pa lho dang gnyags// btsun pa khyung dang snubs// gnyan pa se dang sbo ste yab 'bangs rus drug dang*) (*KhG*: 159).

In the above examples the six clans of paternal subjects are composed of three pairs of two, each pair qualified by an epithet. A similar formulation is found in PT 1038, a short Dunhuang document that explains three theories about the origin of the Tibetan Btsan-po. According to the third theory, the first ruler descends from the thirteenth stage of heaven to rule Tibet. Though they are not qualified as the 'six clans of paternal subjects', three pairs of attendants descend from heaven to earth with the first Tibetan ruler. Lho and Rngegs are qualified as 'ministers' (*blon*) of the first Tibetan sovereign, Mtshe and Gco are the *bon-po*, and Sha and Spug are the 'servants' or 'cooks' (*phyag-tshang*) (PT 1038, ll. 12-17; KARMAY 1998 [1994]: 286). The marked similarity between the earlier and later traditions is sufficient to propose that the post-dynastic tradition of the six clans of paternal subjects was influenced by early theories concerning the origin of the first Tibetan ruler and his attendants. There are a few important differences, however. In the earlier tradition, the six figures are individual people, heavenly attendants who descend to earth with the first ruler, while in the post-dynastic tradition these are the figureheads of earthly clans who meet the first ruler only after his descent. In the post-dynastic tradition of the six clans of paternal subjects retained in the *SLS*, Lho, Gnyags, Khyung, Snubs, Se and Sbo are representatives (or ancestors) of their respective clans. The parallel figures mentioned in PT 1038 are likewise the ancestors of their six respective clans, and the epithets describe their hereditary rights and duties in relation to the Tibetan emperor. Thus, for example, Mtshe and Lco, the two archetypal priests (*bon-po*) of the Tibetan ruler, gave rise to their eponymous priestly lineages.

While this clarifies to some extent the meaning of the phrase 'six clans of paternal subjects' as it is employed in the *SLS*, it is apparent from the *Chronicle* that paired clan names such as Lho-Rngegs often referred to more than the sum of their

parts. Similar formulations of three pairs of two are found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and also include the pair Lho-Rngegs. In one well-known stanza in one of Princess Sad-mar-kar's songs in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, she uses the symbolism of the hunt to disguise her instructions for the Tibetan conquest of Zhang-zhung. In the following lines, she proposes the appropriate distribution of the slain yak that symbolises the conquered kingdom:

> The *thur-thur* is the life essence of Phying-ba,
> Grant the bones and the sinews to the Ldong-Tong,
> Grant the flesh and the hide to the Lho-Rngegs,
> Grant the innards (*lbo-shog*) to the Sha-Spug.
> (*thur thur nI pying ba 'I bcud / / ru rgyus nI ldong tong stsald / sha lko ni lhe rngegs stsald / / lbo shog nI sha spug stsald / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 415-16).[91]

Here the last two groups, the Lho-Rngegs and the Sha-Spug, correspond to the 'ministers' (*blon*) and 'servants' (*phyag-tshang*) of PT 1038, but they are not qualified with epithets, and there is no mention of Mtshe and Gco. In this stanza the order of appearance alone demonstrates the hierarchy formed in this list, but the distribution of the body parts also indicate the difference in status between the four groups, and can be compared with the protocols for sharing an animal killed during the hunt. The royal house at Phying-ba receives the prized *thur-thur*, a part of the animal that, in the case of the hunt, is usually given as an offering or gift (*yon*) to the owner of the land on which the animal is killed.[92] In practice this is probably a symbolic offering to the ruler, who has nominal ownership over all the wild animals of his realm. The Ldong-

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[91] For Uray's translation and analysis of this passage, see URAY 1972b: 25.
[92] One of the miscellaneous laws at the end of PT 1071 (and included also in PT 1072), an Old Tibetan legal document legislating the hunt, concerns the proper distribution of a killed animal. 'The protocols for sharing the body parts when a wild animal is killed: as for the shares when a wild animal is killed, a yak is divided into six portions (*mda'*). As for the first share, one *mtho* [span from thumb to middle finger] of the left side of the *thur-thur* (abdomen?) is set aside as an offering... (*ri dags khums na don dbang ba'I thang la//:// ri dag khums te/ don dbang ba ni/ g.yag cIg la mda' drug du brtsI'o/ snga mda' dbang ba nI/ thur thur g.yon logsu mtho gang/ yon bur bcad te/*)' (PT 1071, ll. 436-37; *CD2*, pl. 400).

Tong receive the bones and sinews, prestigious parts of the animal. The hide, received by the Lho-Rgnegs, is less prestigious. The Sha-Spug receive the innards, which are the least prestigious share, as innards always come after sinews, tendons, and hide when distributing the kill (PT 1071, ll. 436-48). It can therefore be concluded that the shares of the fallen wild yak in Sad-mar-kar's song, emblematic of the spoils of war after the defeat of Zhang-zhung, reveal a hierarchy that places the Btsan-po (indicated by Phying-ba) at the top, the Sha-Spug at the bottom, and the Ldong-Stong and Lho-Rngegs in the middle, the former being slightly more elevated than the latter.

While this is interesting in terms of social hierarchy, the situation exposed above reveals very little if it is not evident what the terms Lho-Rngegs, Ldong-Stong and Sha-Spug indicate. Fortunately, another passage from the *Chronicle* offers some clues to their meaning. In an exchange of songs between two ministers following the conquest of 'Phan-yul, Spung-sad Zu-tse, who hails from Zhang-zhung, and, in particular, from the Khyung-po clan, sings in favour of the Se-Khyung and their role in conquering Ngas-po, and complains that the spoils have gone to the Lho-Rngegs (PT 1287, ll. 221-29). His opponent in song is Zhang-snang, who hails from the Myang clan of central Tibet. Zhang-snang is qualified as a 'Lho-Rngegs' minister, and in his rejoinder he emphasises the role of the Ldong-Stong in the conquest (PT 1287, ll. 233-44). By the very fact that Zhang-snang, a member of the Myang clan, is considered a 'Lho-rngegs minister', it is evident that the term Lho-Rngegs refers to more than the sum of its parts. In other words, it does not indicate the Lho and Rngegs clans. Though its precise meaning is not yet certain, it seems likely that it generally indicates the clans of the central Tibetan heartland formed by the Yar-lung Kingdom prior to its expansion. By analogy, Se-Khyung may indicate not Se and Khyung clans, but those clans of western Tibet and Zhang-zhung in general. Ldong-Stong would

presumably be a similar term, perhaps indicating the Yarlung Kingdom's allies to the north and northeast. It is interesting to note also that the Sha-Spug can be located geographically, as they are mentioned in a few Old Tibetan catalogues of minor kingdoms. In those catalogues in PT 1286, PT 1290 and PT 1060 She'u and Spug are named as the 'ministers' of Skyi-ro Ljang-sngon, which corresponds generally to the Skyid-chu River Valley (DOTSON 2003: 15, 16, 18, 44).

If indeed these pairs of ethnonyms indicate more than the sum of their parts and constitute something larger than a clan, what then, is their relationship to the well-known 'proto-clans' of Tibet? That one of these paired groups in OT sources is Ldong-Stong is particularly interesting, as the Ldong and Stong are two of the four Tibetan 'proto-clans'. STEIN (1961a) studied the 'proto-clans' in some detail. In brief, his conclusions, based almost exclusively on post-dynastic sources, are as follows. The 'proto-clans', or the 'little men of the interior' (*nang gi mi'u*) follow a schematic numeric classification of four, six, and sometimes seven. Depending on the tradition, they either descend from the union of the monkey and the demoness, from the gods of light (*'od-gsal lha*), from a luminous egg, or from a mountain god ancestor. The core group is comprised of four main 'proto-clans': the Se, Rmu, Ldong and Stong. These are associated respectively with 'A-zha, Zhang-zhung, Mi-nyag and Sum-pa. When there are six 'proto-clans', the final two, often the Gra/ Dbra and Bru/ 'Bon, are subordinated or somehow set apart from the others, sometimes as 'younger brothers'. When there is a seventh clan, it is usually regarded as the maternal uncle (*zhang*) clan, and is often called Sgo. In summary, the 'proto-clans' are placed at the beginning of history as part of the explanation of how the various human races came into being.

They are the progenitors of the various peoples of the known world, and later each of the 'proto-clans' subdivide into many parts.[93]

Within this schematic, the Ldong and Stong are often paired with each other. Considering this relationship between the two proto-clans, and their respective associations with Mi-nyag and Sum-pa, STEIN (1961a: 43) surmises that this may date to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, when, according to *GK* (185; CHANDRA 1982: 232; *kha*, 64b, ll. 3-5),

> Those who protect the borders of the thousand-districts on the border of Tibet and China were attached to the orders of [i.e., placed under the jurisdiction of] the Sum-pa tribes, and appointed to manage the borders in the land of Mi-nyag. (*rgya bod mtshams kyi stong sde'i so srungs rnams: sum pa'i mi sde bka' la btags nas ni: mi nyag yul du so mtshams gnyer la bskos:*).

In point of fact, this passage likely describes a period prior to 702 (cf. *infra*, {3.3.1b}). While this may be the origin of their territorial association with Mi-nyag and Sum-pa, the Ldong-Stong are mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* in connection with events over one hundred years earlier, during the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan.

The Ldong-Stong in Old Tibetan sources, therefore, may not correspond to the 'proto-clans', or have any relation, for example, to the 'eighteen Ldong clans' that appear so often in clan histories.[94] The exact relationship between such Old Tibetan ethnonyms as Lho-Rngegs, Ldong-Stong, Se-Khyung and Sha-Spug, and the 'proto-clans' of Tibet is far from clear, mainly due to the fact that the latter come mostly from post-dynastic sources. This being the case, it is difficult to say whether or not the one tradition preceded the other, but we must admit the possibility that the tradition of the six 'proto-clans' of Tibet, as detailed by Stein with recourse to post-dynastic

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[93] On their subdivisions, see SMITH 2003: 218-20.
[94] See, for example, the 14th century *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa*: 6.

sources, may have at its origin such paired ethnonyms as those found in the *Chronicle*.[95] It is evident from the *SLS* (*infra* {3.17}) and from other sources that there were several traditions of clan histories in circulation during the imperial period, and if and when these emerge, they may shed some light on this vexed issue.

To conclude, the six clans of paternal subjects (*yab-'bangs rus drug*) in the *SLS* refer to the clan ancestors who meet the first Tibetan ruler, and to the clans that were spawned by them. They have a similar meaning in the Old Tibetan document PT 1038, whose tradition is probably the basis of the later formulation of six clans of paternal subjects, but in this case the six attendants are heavenly beings who descend to earth with the Btsan-po. In both earlier and later traditions, the descendants of these figures carry certain rights and duties in relation to the Tibetan emperor. With reference to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the pairing of individual clan names, such as Lho and Rngegs as Lho-Rngegs, seems to create an ethnonym larger than the sum of its parts. This may correspond partially to, or even be at the base of, later traditions concerning the 'proto-clans' of Tibet, but the relationship between these two traditions is far from clear.

{2.13}: 'The 360 *khab stong-sde* served as soldiers and border [guards]', appears to be nothing more than an embellishment. There are two well-attested traditions of thousand-districts in Tibet. The earlier tradition counts forty-four, while the later tradition counts sixty-one (infra, {3.2.1}). Thus 360 thousand-districts seem too astronomical to warrant serious consideration. The meaning of the term *khab* in

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[95] In his discussion of these same themes, ALLEN (1978: 353), relying mostly on the work of Ariane Macdonald, contends that the six clans of paternal subjects likely influenced the formation of the Tibetan schema of 'proto-clans'. Allen is also aware of the problem posed by compounds such as Lho-Rngegs, and his solution to this was the supposition that they indicate moieties (ALLEN 1978: 351-52). While I find this an attractive and intriguing solution, the identification of Zhang-snang of the Myang clan as a 'Lho-Rngegs minister' poses problems for Allen's hypothesis.

this connection is also unclear. Given their supposed location on the borders, *khob* would make far more sense.

{2.14}: ‘The hundred *cha/ mya* households ploughed the fields and tamed the badlands (*tha-rgod*)’, appears to refer to a group of people whose duty it was to cultivate previously uncultivated areas. Like his control of weights and measures, and law and administration, agriculture was also an important part of the emperor’s supremacy, and this likely accounts for its inclusion in the *SLS*.

The final twelve measures in the outline could just as easily be presented as a closing formula, and indeed UEBACH (1989: 827) presented the last six as such in her outline of the *SLS* in *Lde'u*. While {2.24}, ‘They divided the pastures (*'brog*) into *thu*’, and {2.25}, ‘They laid out the fields (*zhing*) into *the-gu*’ do not technically have corresponding catalogues, these issues are taken up in the analysis of the inventions of Tibet’s seven wise men at {3.8.3}. The remainder of the measures in the outline are formulaic and similar in content to the concluding verse at {5}. {2.26}: ‘During the time of the seven great high ministers (*dgung-blon*), they established boats on the rivers’, seems to refer to an early period in Tibetan history. The group of seven ministers could conceivably correspond to the ‘seven great ones’ at {3.3.4a}, but this seems unlikely. Given their technological innovations, such as building toll stations on the passes {2.27}, one is reminded here of the magical and wise ministers who appear at the beginning of the ‘Succession of Prime Ministers’ in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (*supra*, {1})

{2.28}: ‘They convoked the chiefs of the soldiers’, is relatively obscure. It may refer to a single event when military officials were brought together, or may indicate a recurring practice. Thematically, {2.29}, ‘Having defeated the Chinese and Turks at the borders, they created the thousand [-districts] of Tibet’ also has a military

character. This relates to the creation of the thousand-districts to a particular period, though given the vague nature of the statement, and Tibet's nearly constant warfare with China, it is futile to try to date this too precisely.

{2.30}: 'The law (*bka'-khrims*) earnestly bound [the polity]', is reminiscent of the classic metaphors describing Tibet's judicial system as a 'golden yoke' that leads the subjects to liberation. In fact, Old Tibetan legal terms such as *khrims* and *khrin*, in common with their related terms, *grims* and *khrid*, had a connotation of 'binding' and 'leading', and may have contributed to the development of this metaphor.

{2.31}: 'The lord's orders were based on consultation', tells us little about the decision-making process. Its purpose here seems only to demonstrate that the ruler was not an autocrat. Similarly, {2.32}, '[The ministers] acted as brothers in giving counsel on subjects' petitions', describes the ideal situation, and not necessarily the actual practice. It does, however, echo the passage from the *Chronicle* relating to the reforms at the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, translated in the introduction: 'At that time, even the ministers concerned with government were cohesive in thought and united in counsel....' (*supra*, introduction). Similar kinship metaphors are used to describe the duties of particular ministers at {3.3.2b}.

The final three measures underline the relationship between law and Buddhism: it is through the good law that the Tibetan subjects are able to attain liberation. The 'sixteen codes of human conduct' announced at {2.33} are catalogued in the context of the six legal codes at {3.6.3}, where they are referred to as the 'sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct' (*mi-chos chen-po gtsang-ma bcu-drug*). The same section also includes a legal tradition based on the ten virtues, announced at {2.34}. This part of the outline reveals another interesting feature of the *SLS*: throughout the catalogues, 'divine religion' (*lha-chos*) always refers to

Buddhism. The final clause in the outline, {2.35}, ‘by practising the ten virtues in body and speech, they taught the path to higher realms and liberation’, underlines the benefits of a Buddhist lifestyle. The placement of these three clauses at the end of the outline emphasises the political imperatives of the text by demonstrating the relationship between law and Buddhism.

Having discussed those measures announced in the outline that have no corresponding catalogue, we can now move on to the catalogues themselves.

# {3} Tibet’s Laws and Institutions

## Introduction {3}

This section constitutes the bulk of the *Section on Law and State*. It generally follows the order of the measures announced in the outline. As mentioned above in the explanation of the composite outline of the *Section on Law and State*, I have subdivided section {3} into eight parts. As a result, the first part of section three, {3.1}, contains the catalogues corresponding to {2.1} to {2.15} in the outline, section {3.2} outlines of the double cycle of ten catalogues, section {3.3} presents the contents of the double cycle of ten catalogues, section {3.4} ‘returns’ to the contents of catalogues mentioned in the outline from {2.17} to {2.20}), section {3.5} presents the thirty-six institutions, section {3.6} presents the six legal codes, section {3.7} presents the catalogues of the six institutions, and section {3.8} once again ‘returns’ to the individual catalogues noted in the outline at {2.22} and {2.23}.

As discussed in the introduction to the composite outline, the six legal texts and six institutions in *KhG* correspond to {3.6} and {3.7} in *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*. This being the case, these institutions are discussed in detail in that section, in accordance with the composite outline.

The catalogues begin with a short introduction, found only in *Lde'u*, purporting to describe the time and date that Srong-btsan Sgam-po created the laws.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.0}: Opening Formula

***Lde'u* {3.0}**

Concerning that, if one asks in what place and at what time the laws were created, having assembled all the Tibetans of the realm of Spur-rgyal at Yar-lung Sogs-kha, at the time when the residence of the god (*bla*; literally "highness") was Phying-nga Stag-rtse, the residence of the queen(s) was Dpag-bsam gyi Lcang-bu, and [when] the prince (*rgyal-bu*), the brother, stayed at Yar-stod Grang-nga 'Bram-snang, on the day of the full moon of the great summer month of the ox year, when [the moon was in conjunction with] the *nakśatra* Puṣya and traversed the planet Śukra, King Srong-btsan Sgam-po created [the laws].

***Lde'u* {3.0}**

*de la khrims yul gar bcas shing / dus tshod ji tsam na bcas na/ rgyal po srong btsan sgam pos yul yar lung sogs kha ru spur rgyal gyi mnga' ris su bsdus pa'i bod thams cad 'tshogs nas bla'i pho brang ni phying nga stag rtse/ jo mo'i zhugs gnas ni dpag bsam gyi lcang bu/ rgyal bu mched ni yang stod grang nga 'bram snang na bzhugs pa'i dus na/ glang gi dbyar zla ra ba'i nya la dkar*[96] *ma rgyal gza' spang ba sangs rgyu ba'i dus su bcas so/* (*Lde'u*: 254-55).

## Analysis {3.0}

The dating formula is obviously a late interpolation designed to mimic the standardised dating formulas found in official imperial documents. This consists of

---

96 Read *skar*.

the animal year of the twelve-year cycle, along with either the location of the emperor's court, or that of an administrative council. Before the introduction of the sexagenary cycle, this practice was employed to distinguish between, for example, one horse year and another (URAY 1975: 160-61). In this case, however, the author has used the Kālacakra system, which was not introduced into Tibet until 1027. The dating formula therefore fails to imitate those current during the imperial period, and reveals itself as a late fabrication. Apparently taking the above dating formula at face value, Bsod-nam Tshe-ring dates the creation of the law to 641 (BSOD-NAM 2004: 24).

The passage is obviously a fabrication, and need not be examined in great detail, but it is interesting to note the mention of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's brother, a figure whose existence is mostly forgotten in later histories. The fragmentary introduction to the *Old Tibetan Annals* reveal that Srong-btsan was in contention with his younger brother, Btsan-srong, and that the latter died under suspicious circumstances. This occurred before the arrival of the Chinese princess, Wen-Cheng Kong-co, in 641 (RICHARDSON 1998 [1965]: 11).

## {3.1} Catalogues Introduced in the Outline

### Introduction {3.1}

This is the first of the eight parts of section {3}. As mentioned above, section {3.1} contains the catalogues corresponding to {2.1 to 2.15} in the outline. The first of these measures concerns the boundaries of Tibet's administrative districts, and the analysis therefore contains a somewhat lengthy treatment of Tibetan imperial geography.

As mentioned in the discussion of the structure of the three main versions of the *SLS*, most of *Lde'u* is concerned with the double cycle of ten catalogues, and it is in fact in that section that *Lde'u* describes the thousand-districts and the borders of the four horns. For that reason, and due to the fact that *Lde'u* and *KhG* follow the same tradition in this regard, while *Jo sras* follows a separate tradition, only *Jo sras*' thousand-districts will be considered here. The borders listed in *Jo sras* are comparable to those found in *Lde'u* and *KhG*, however, so these will be considered here with reference to the three main sources. In this and many other cases, it is clearer to translate into tabular form than to employ prose, and this method is employed below.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.1}: the Boundaries of the Four Horns and Sum-pa

### ***Jo sras* {3.1.1}**

Further, Tibet was first divided into horns. The upper (western) [region], Mnga'-ris Skor-gsum, was like a lake. The middle [region], the four horns of Dbus-Gtsang, was like a canal, and the lower (eastern) [region], Mdo-smad Khams-gsum, was like a field.[97] In the middle, like a canal, [there were] the four horns, Gnam making five, and the Branch Horn of Sum-pa (Sum-pa Ru'i yan-lag) making six.

[97] This same description of Tibet is found nearly verbatim at the beginning of the royal genealogy of Tibet in *KhG* (149), where it describes Tibet prior to human habitation.

Concerning that, in the territorial circuit (*sa-skor*) of Central Horn there were eleven and one half thousand-districts (*stong-sde*), thirteen with the 'little thousand-district' (*stong bu-chung*):[98]

Table 4: The Thirteen Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dor-sde |
| 2 | Phyugs-'tshams |
| 3 | Ste-'dzoms |
| 4 | 'Bri-te |
| 5 | Co-la |
| 6 | Zo-stengs |
| 7 | Kyid-stod |
| 8 | Kyid-smad |
| 9 | Phor-kha |
| 10 | Ngam-ru-phag |
| 11 | 'Grangs |
| 12 | Nyen-khar |
| 13 | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) |

In the territorial circuit of Left Horn there were eight thousand-districts, nine with the 'little thousand-district' (*stong bu-chung*):

Table 5: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Shar-po |
| 2 | Phying-ba |
| 3 | Lho- 'brog |
| 4 | Mang-rgyal |
| 5 | Dmyal |
| 6 | Khri'u |
| 7 | Myang |
| 8 | Dwags-po |
| 9 | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) |

In the territorial circuit of Right Horn there were six thousand-districts, seven with the 'little thousand-district' (*stong bu-chung*):

Table 6: The Seven Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-yong |
| 2 | Gshang-lha |
| 3 | Shangs-sdings |

[98] The numbers don't appear to add up.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 | Bzang-por |
| 5 | 'Bro-mi |
| 6 | 'O-mi |
| 7 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) |

In the territorial circuit of Branch Horn there were eight thousand-districts, nine with the 'little thousand-district' (*stong bu-chung*):

Table 7: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Grom [Khrom]-pa |
| 2 | Lha-rtse ['tshong] |
| 3 | Khri-dang |
| 4 | Myang-ro |
| 5 | Mang-mkhar |
| 6 | Khrom-pa |
| 7 | Khab-sar |
| 8 | Gad |
| 9 | Mngal (*stong bu-chung*) |

The borders of the four horns were divided thus:

Table 8: The Borders of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | 'Ol-ka Shug-pa Spun bdun |
| **South** | Sma-la La-rgyud |
| **West** | Gnye-mo Gzhu |
| **North** | Sprags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **Centre** | Lha-sa 'Phrul-snang |

Table 9: The Borders of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Rkong-yul Bre'u-sna |
| **South** | Sha-'ug La-sgo |
| **West** | Kha-rag Gangs-dkar |
| **North** | Sma-la La-brgyud |
| **Centre** | Yar-lung Khra-'brug |

Table 10: The Borders of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Sprags kyi Glang-ma gur-phub |
| **South** | Snye-nam G.yag so sna |
| **West** | Gtsang-la Ma dgu gyes |
| **North** | Rme'u-ti Chu-nag |
| **Centre** | Zho zhe 'tshal |

Table 11: The Borders of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | 'Dzam ne na tra |
| **South** | Bal-po Glang-gud |

| | |
|---|---|
| **West** | La-ken G.yag-mig |
| **North** | Bye-ma Sa-sngon |
| **Centre** | Srid kyi Dur-pa-sna |

Table 12: The Borders of Sum-pa's Horn (Sum-pa'i ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Gnyen-yul Brag-ra |
| **South** | Rmi'u-ti Chu-nag |
| **West** | Spel-zhabs Sding-po-che |
| **North** | Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang |
| **Centre** | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal |

### ***Jo sras* {3.1.1}**

*de yang dang po bod rur phye ste / stong*[99] *mnga' ris skor gsum jing 'dra ba / bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi yur 'dra ba / smad mdo smad khams gsum zhing 'dra ba las/ bar yur ba 'dra ba na ru bzhi gnam dang lnga/ sum pa ru'i yan lag dang drug go de la dbu ru'i sa bskor na stong sde phyed bcu gnyis 'stong bu chung dang bcu gsum la/ dor sde phyur*[100] *'tshams gnyis/ ste 'dzoms 'bri te gnyis te bzhi/ co la zo stengs gnyis te drug/ kyi stod kyi smad gnyis te brgyad/ phor kha ngam ru phag dang gnyis te bcu/ 'grangs nyen khar gnyis te bcu gnyis/ spel*[101] *zhabs stong bu chung dang bcu gsum mo/ g.yo ru'i sa bskor na/ stong sde brgyad stong bu chung dang dgu la/ shar po phying ba gnyis/ lho 'brog mang rgyal gnyis te bzhi/ dmyal khri'u gnyis te drug/ myang dwags po gnyis te brgyad/ ri bo stong bu chung dang dgu'o/ g.yas ru'i bskor na/ stong sde drug/ stong bu chung dang bdun la/ stong yong gshang lha gnyis/ shangs stings bzang por gnyis te bzhi/ 'bro mi 'o mi gnyis te drug/ shangs kyi stong bu chung dang bdun no / ru lag gis*[102] *skor na stong sde brgyad stong bu chung dang dgu la/ khrom pa lha 'tshong gnyis/ khri dang myang ro gnyis te bzhi/ mang mkhar khrom pa gnyis te drug/*

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[99] Read *stod*.
[100] Read *phyugs*.
[101] Read *yel*; the editors have confused the *dbu-med spa* with *ya*, which look nearly identical. *Lde'u*: Yel-rabs; *KhG*: Yel-rab; *BK*: Yel-zhabs.
[102] Read *gi*.

*khab sar gad gnyis te brgyad/ mngal gyi stong bu chung dang dgu'o/ ru bzhi'i mtshams bye ba la dbu ru'i ru mtshams ni/ shar phyogs 'ol ka shug pa spun bdun la stugs pa lho phyogs sma la la rgyud/ nub phyogs gnye mo gzhu/ byang sprags kyi glang ma khur*[103] *phub la gtugs dbus tshad lha sa 'phrul snang gis byas so/ g.yo ru'i ru mtshams ni/ shar rkong yul be'u sna/ lho sha 'ug la sgo rub*[104] *kha rag gangs dkar/ byang sma la la brgyud/ dbus yar lung khra 'brug la byas so / g.yas ru'i mtshams ni/ shar phyogs sprags kyi glang ma gur phub lte*[105] *snye nam g.yag so sna/ nub gtsang lu ma dgu gyes/ byang rme'u te chu nag/ dbus zho zhe 'tshal gyis byas pa'o/ ru lag gi mtshams ni/ shar 'dzam ne na tra/ lho bal po glang gud nub la ken g.yag dmig/ byang bye ma sa sngon/ dbus srid kyi dur pa snas byas pa'o/ sum pa'i ru mtshams ni/ shar gnyen yul brag ra/ lho rmi'u ti chu nag/ nub spel zhabs sding po che/ byang nags shod gzi 'phrang / dbus rgya shod stag pa tshal gyi byas pa'o/* (*Jo sras*: 110-11).

### ***Ne'u* {3.1.1}**

There are twelve thousand-districts in Central Horn

Table 13: The Thirteen Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dor-te |
| 2 | Chugs-'tshams |
| 3 | 'Bring-'tshams |
| 4 | Stong-'dzim |
| 5 | 'Grams-tsha |
| 6 | Nyer-kar |
| 7 | Bcom-pa |
| 8 | Gzo-steng |
| 9 | Skyi-stod |
| 10 | Skyi-smad |
| 11 | Phod-dkar |
| 12 | Ngam-ru'i-phag |
| 13 | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) |

[103] Read *gur*.
[104] Read *nub*.
[105] Read *lho*.

There are eight thousand-districts in Left Horn.

Table 14: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Shar-po |
| 2 | Spyi-bo |
| 3 | Lho-brag |
| 4 | Yar-rkyangs |
| 5 | Dmyal-khri |
| 6 | Yum-'bangs |
| 7 | Nyag-nyi |
| 8 | Dags-po |
| 9 | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) |

There are six thousand-districts in Right Horn.

Table 15: The Seven Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Sde-spo |
| 2 | 'O-chab |
| 3 | Shangs-stengs |
| 4 | Bzangs-po |
| 5 | 'Brog-mi |
| 6 | 'O-mi |
| 7 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) |

There are eight thousand-districts in Branch Horn.

Table 16: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Grom-pa |
| 2 | Lha-mtsho |
| 3 | Khri-dang |
| 4 | Nyang-ro |
| 5 | Mang-dkar |
| 6 | Khri-gong |
| 7 | Khab-so |
| 8 | Gad-gsum |
| 9 | Mtsho-rta (*stong bu-chung*) |

There are eight thousand-districts in the land of Sum-pa.

Table 17: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of the Land of Sum-pa.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Rtse-'thon |
| 2 | Rgod-lding |
| 3 | Khang-grong |
| 4 | Khang-bzangs |
| 5 | Kun-gnas |
| 6 | Mdo-ral |

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 | Mdzo-stod |
| 8 | Mdzo-smad |
| 9 | Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) |

Regarding those who ruled this great kingdom of Tibet, which thus had forty-two military thousand-districts, forty-seven with the five sub-thousand-districts...

### ***Ne'u*** **{3.1.1}**

*dbu ru la stong sde bcu gnyis yod ste/ dor te: chugs 'tshaMs gnyis: stong 'dziM: 'bring 'tshams gnyis: 'graMs tsha: nyer kar 2:*[106] *bcoM pa/ gzo steng 2: skyi stod skyid smad 2: phod dkar: ngaM ru'i phag dang 2: spel*[107] *zhabs stong bu chung dang bcu 3 mo / g.yo ru la stong sde brgyad yod de: shar po: spyi bo 2: lho brag yar rkyangs 2: dmyal khri: yuM 'bangs 2: nyag nyi: dags po gnyis: ri bo'i stong bu chung dang dgu'o / g.yas ru la stong sde drug ste: sde spo: 'o chab gnyis: shangs stengs: bzangs po 2: 'brog mi 'o mi 2 shangs kyi stong bu chung dang bduno/ ru lag la stong sde brgyad yode: groM pa: lha mtsho 2: khri dang nyang ro 2: mang dkar: khri gong gnyis: khab so gad gsuM gnyis: mtsho rta stong bu chung dang dgu'o/ suM pa'i yul la stong sde brgyad ste: rtse 'thon: rgod lding gnyis: khang grong: khang bzangs gnyis: kun gnas: mdo ral gnyis: mdzo stod: mdzo smad gnyis: nags shod stong bu chung dang dgu'o/ de ltar rgod kyi stong sde bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis: stong bu chung lnga ste: bzhi bcu rtsa bdun yod pa'i: bod kyi rgyal khams chen po 'di 'i bdag por gyur pa ni:* (*Ne'u*: 3-4; UEBACH 1987: 50-55, 2a3-2b1).

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.1.1}**

The division of the borders of the four horns:

---

[106] Rather than spelling out *gnyis*, the scribe here writes the numeral.
[107] Read *yel*.

Table 18: The Borders of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | 'Ol-ka Shug-pa Spun bdun |
| **West** | Snye-mo Gzhu |
| **North** | Srag gi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **South** | Dma'-la La-rgyud |
| **Centre** | Lha-sa Ra-mo-che |

Table 19: The Borders of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Kong-yul Bre-sna |
| **West** | Kha-rag Spyi-stud |
| **North** | Dma'-la La-rgyud |
| **South** | Sha-'ug Stag-sgo |
| **Centre** | Yar-lung Khra-'brug |

Table 20: The Borders of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Srag gi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **West** | Bye-ma La-dgu |
| **North** | Rmi-sti Chu-nag |
| **South** | Snye-nam G.yag-po sna |
| **Centre** | Shangs kyi Zhong-tshal |

Table 21: The Borders of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Ne na bkra |
| **West** | Khen mag mig |
| **North** | Bye-ma La-sngon |
| **South** | Bal-po Glang dgu |
| **Centre** | Sbrad kyi Ngur-pa sna |

Table 22: The Borders of Sum-pa's Horn (Sum pa'i ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Gnye-yul Bre-nag |
| **West** | Spel-zhabs Sding-po-che |
| **North** | Nags-pa shod Gzi-'phrang |
| **South** | Rmi-sti Chu-nag |
| **Centre** | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal |

As for that, it is the exposition of the horn borders of the four horns of Tibet, five with the additional horn of Sum-pa.

***Lde'u* {3.1.1}**

*ru bzhi'i mtshams dbye ba ni/ dbu ru'i ru mtshams ni/ shar 'ol ka shug pa spun bdun la gtugs/ nub snye mo gzhu la gtugs/ byang srag gi glang ma gur phub la gtugs/ lho dma' la la rgyud la gtugs/ dbus ni lha sa ra mo che'o/*

*g.yu ru'i ru mtshams ni/ shar kong yul bre sna/ nub kha rag spyi stud/ byang dma' la la rgyud/ lho sha 'ug stag sgo/ dbus yar lung khra 'brug go/*

*g.yas ru'i ru mtshams ni/ shar phyogs srag gi glang ma gur phub/ nub bye ma la dgu/ byang rmi sti chu nag lho snye nam g.yag po sna/ dbus shangs kyi zhong tshal lo/*

*ru lag gi ru mtshams ni/ shar ne ne bkra/ nub khen mag mig byang bye ma la sngon/ lho bal po glang dgur/ dbus sbrad kyi ngur pa sna'o/*

*sum pa'i ru mtshams ni shar gnye yul bre nag nub spel zhabs sding po che/ byang nags pa shod gzi 'phrang / lho rmi sti chu nag dbus ni rgya shod stag pa tshal lo/ des ni bod ru bzhi sum pa'i ru lag dang snga'i ru mtshams bstan pa'o/* (*Lde'u*: 272-73).

***KhG* {3.1.1}**

First they created the borders of the horns.

Table 23: The Borders of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | 'Ol-kha'i Shug-pa Dpun bdun |
| **South** | Rma-la La-brgyud |
| **West** | Gzhu Snye-mo |
| **North** | Prags-kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **Centre** | Lha-sa Ra-mo-che |

Table 24: The Borders of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Kong-yul Bres-sna |
| **South** | Sha-'ug Stag-sgo |
| **West** | Kha-rag Gangs-rtse |
| **North** | Rma-la La-brgyud |
| **Centre** | Yar-lungs Khra-'brug |

Table 25: The Borders of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Prags-kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **South** | Gnya'-ni G.yag-po'i sna |
| **West** | Bye-ma La-dgu |
| **North** | Smri-ti Chu-nag |
| **Centre** | Shangs-kyi Zhong-pa-tshal |

Table 26: The Borders of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | 'Jam ne bkra |
| **South** | Bal-po Glang-sna |
| **West** | La-kem G.yag-mig |
| **North** | Bye-ma La-sngon |
| **Centre** | Brad-kyi Dur-pa sna |

Table 27: The Borders of Sum-pa's Horn (Sum pa'i ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| **East** | Gnye-yul Bum-nag |
| **South** | Smri-ti Chu-nag |
| **West** | Yel-zhabs Sdings-po-che |
| **North** | Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang |
| **Centre** | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal |

Gtsang was divided into Right Horn and Branch Horn, Dbus into Central Horn and Left Horn—[these] and the additional third Horn (Yan-lag Gsum-pa'i ru)[108] make five.

### *KhG* {3.1.1}

*de yang dang por ru mtshams phye ste/ shar 'ol kha'i shug pa dpun bdun lho rma la la brgyud nub gzhu snye mo byang prags kyi glang ma gur phub dbus tshad lha sa ra mo che la byas pa dbu ru/ shar kong yul bres sna lho sha 'ug stag sgo nub kha rag gangs rtse byang rma la la brgyud dbus tshad yar lungs khra 'brug la byas pa g.yo ru/ shar prags kyi glang ma gur phub lho gnya' ni g.yag po'i sna nub phye ma la dgu byang smri ti chu nag dbus shangs kyi zhong pa tshal la byas pa g.yas ru/ shar 'jam ne bkra lho bal po glang sna nub la kem g.yag mig byang bye ma la sngon dbus brad kyi dur*

---

[108] Elsewhere, *KhG* refers to the additional Horn of Sum-pa. This is the only place where it appears as the 'additional third horn', and there is every indication that this is simply an error. YAMAGUCHI (1970b), however, maintains that the 'additional third horn' is the correct reading of Yan-lag Sum/ Gsum-pa'i ru.

*pa sna la byas pa ru lag / shar gnye yul bum nag lho srmri ti chu nag nub yel zhabs sdings po che byang nags shod gzi 'phrang dbus tshad rgya shod stag pa tshal la byas pa'i sum pa'i ru ste gtsang la g.yas ru dang ru lag / dbus la dbu ru dang g.yo ru/ yan lag gsum pa'i ru ste lngar phye'o/* (*KhG*: 186; 19a, l. 6-19b, l. 2).

### Analysis {3.1.1}

As noted in the introduction, many of Tibet's legal and bureaucratic structures may have first been standardised by Prime Minister Mgar Stong-rtsan in 654 and 655. The entry for the former year states: 'He divided the military (*rgod*) and the civilians (*g.yung*) and made the manuals for the execution of the great administration (*mkho-sham chen-pho*).' This administrative division of the population may well have signalled the beginning of the system of *ru*, or 'horns' in Tibet (URAY 1972a: 64). The first evidence of the horn system is the mention of 'the low tract of Central Horn' in the summer of 684, and it is likely that a system of three horns, Central Horn, Left Horn and Right Horn, existed at this time, though the first mention of the three horns together does not occur until 712 (URAY 1960: 53-54).[109] Specific references to 'the four horns of Tibet' (*Bod khams ru-bzhi*) do not surface, however, until 733 (URAY 1960: 54). Nonetheless, URAY (1962: 360) demonstrated that the three horns—Central Horn, Left Horn and Right Horn—were linked with Branch Horn (Ru-lag) as early as 726. The Horn of Sum-pa was legislated in 702, and Zhang-zhung was brought under administration and divided into thousand-districts, but not referred to as a horn. It is interesting, however, that we find in *Jo sras* a tradition of six horns: '[there were] the four horns, Gnam making five, and the Branch Horn of Sum-pa (Sum-pa Ru'i yan-lag)

[109] It is important to note in this formulation that Central Horn is conceived of as facing south. Thus Right Horn is to the west and Left Horn is to the east.

making six.’ In the calalogues of *Lde'u* and *KhG*, the thousand-districts of Zhang-zhung appear after the exposition of the four horns and before the thousand-districts of Sum-pa’s Horn. It is possible, therefore, that Gnam corresponds here to Zhang-zhung.

The catalogue of thousand-districts in *Lde'u* is part of the double cycle of ten catalogues, and will be analysed in detail, along with the catalogue in *KhG*, in {3.3.1b}. This is also convenient thematically, as *Jo sras* preserves a tradition of thousand-districts that differs considerably from that in *Lde'u* and *KhG*. As mentioned in the introduction, this is one of the facets of the *SLS* that makes it evident that the authors were working from sources based on imperial catalogues dating to different periods. As will be evident from the following tables, the tradition of thousand-districts preserved in *Jo sras* is nearly identical to that preserved in Ne'u Paṇḍiṭa’s *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* (hereafter, *Ne'u*), composed in 1283. The thousand-districts are always listed in pairs, and their original order in *Jo sras* is retained here. Where the order in *Ne'u* has been altered to fit with *Jo sras*, the original order of appearance is given in parentheses.

Table 28: The Thirteen Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Central Horn.

| | ***Jo sras*** | ***Ne'u*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dor-sde | Dor-te |
| 2 | Phyugs-'tshams | Chugs-'tshams |
| 3 | Ste-'dzoms | 'Bring-'tshams |
| 4 | 'Bri-te | Stong-'dzim |
| 5 | Co-la | Bcom-pa (7) |
| 6 | Zo-stengs | Gzo-steng (8) |
| 7 | Kyid-stod | Skyi-stod (9) |
| 8 | Kyid-smad | Skyi-smad (10) |
| 9 | Phor-kha | Phod-dkar (11) |
| 10 | Ngam-ru-phag | Ngam-ru'i-phag (12) |
| 11 | 'Grangs | 'Grams-tsha (5) |
| 12 | Nyen-khar | Nyer-kar (6) |
| 13 | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) |

Table 29: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Left Horn.

| | ***Jo sras*** | ***Ne'u*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Shar-po | Shar-po |
| 2 | Phying-ba | Spyi-bo |
| 3 | Lho- 'brog | Lho-brag |
| 4 | Mang-rgyal | Yar-rkyangs |
| 5 | Dmyal | Dmyal-khri |
| 6 | Khri'u | Yum-'bangs |
| 7 | Myang | Nyag-nyi |
| 8 | Dwags-po | Dags-po |
| 9 | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) |

Table 30: The Ten Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Right Horn.

| | ***Jo sras*** | ***Ne'u*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-yong | Sde-spo |
| 2 | Gshang-lha | 'O-chab |
| 3 | Shangs-sdings | Shangs-stengs |
| 4 | Bzang-por | Bzangs-po |
| 5 | 'Bro-mi | 'Brog-mi |
| 6 | 'O-mi | 'O-mi |
| 7 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) |

Table 31: The Nine Thousand-Districts (*stong-sde*) of Branch Horn.

| | ***Jo sras*** | ***Ne'u*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Grom [Khrom]-pa | Grom-pa |
| 2 | Lha-rtse ['tshong] | Lha-mtsho |
| 3 | Khri-dang | Khri-dang |
| 4 | Myang-ro | Nyang-ro |
| 5 | Mang-mkhar | Mang-dkar |
| 6 | Khrom-pa | Khri-gong |
| 7 | Khab-sar | Khab-so |
| 8 | Gad | Gad-gsum |
| 9 | Mngal (*stong bu-chung*) | Mtsho-rta (*stong bu-chung*) |

While *Ne'u* goes on to name the thousand-districts of Sum-pa, here called ‘the land of Sum-pa’ (*Sum-pa'i yul*), *Jo sras* does not. An analysis of Sum-pa’s thousand-districts will therefore be reserved for section {3.3.1b}. UEBACH (1985: 150) analysed the tradition of thousand-districts preserved in *Ne'u*, and concluded that it reflected a tradition dating to between 731 and 744. Given the nearly identical nature of *Ne'u*’s

and *Jo sras*' catalogues, the same conclusions certainly apply to the catalogues of thousand-districts preserved in *Jo sras*. After a reorganisation of the thousand-districts, occurring, Uebach suggests, in 744, the thousand-districts were balanced in order that there be eight in each horn. This later organisation of the thousand-districts is reflected in the catalogues of *KhG*, *Lde'u* and *BK*, which date to between 744 and 763 (*infra,* {3.3.1b}). While some thousand-districts shift from Central Horn to Right Horn, the names are mostly the same, and the locations of these toponyms will be discussed in section {3.3.1b}.

The borders of the horns, however, correspond almost exactly in *Jo sras*, *Lde'u* and *KhG*, so their locations will be considered here.

**Left Horn**

Table 32: The Borders of Left Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **East** | Kong-yul Bre-sna | Kong-yul Bres-sna | Rkong-yul Bre'u-sna |
| **South** | Sha-'ug Stag-sgo | Sha-'ug Stag-sgo | Sha-'ug La-sgo |
| **West** | Kha-rag Spyi-stud | Kha-rag Gangs-rtse | Kha-rag Gangs-dkar |
| **North** | Dma'-la La-rgyud | Rma-la La-brgyud | Sma-la La-brgyud |
| **Centre** | Yar-lung Khra-'brug | Yar-lungs Khra-'brug | Yar-lung Khra-'brug |

The geography of Left Horn has been examined in great detail by Gyalbo, Hazod, and Sørensen, who produced an excellent map of the area including both thousand-districts and 'administrative districts' (*yul-dpon-tshan*) (GYALBO *et al*. 2000: 239-41). They utilised all of the same sources treated here and there is little the present study can add to their work.

Located to the south and southeast of Central Horn, Left Horn's eastern border is the famous Kong-yul Bre-sna, which is part of the minor kingdom (*rgyal-phran*) of Kong-yul, i.e. Kong-po. Hazod locates the southern border, Sha-'ug Stag-sgo, to the south of Mtsho-sna (GYALBO *et al*. 2000: 239), and CHAB-SPEL (1989: 105) equates it

with Legs-mo-chus Sha-'ug Grong-tsho in Mtsho-sna County. The western border, Kha-rag Gangs-rtse, is a mountain twinned with the nearby Kha-rag Jo-bo. Sørensen and Hazod locate it in modern Mkha'-reg, where it served as the traditional border of Dbus and Gtsang. They further state that 'the core area of mKha'-reg is the side-valley and area south of gTsang-po towards Yar-'brog, but mKha'-reg also covered the area on the northern side of gTsang-po en route between present-day Chu-shul and sNye-mo'.[110] Left Horn shares its northern border, 'the low mountain range' (Dma'-la La-rgyud), with Central Horn. This is the mountain range between the Skyid-chu River and the Gtsang-po River, known as the Rgod-dkar/ Rgod-kha range (SØRENSEN AND HAZOD 2005: 43, n. 14).

**Central Horn**

Table 33: The Borders of Central Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **East** | 'Ol-ka Shug-pa Spun bdun | 'Ol-kha'i Shug-pa Dpun bdun | 'Ol-ka Shug-pa Spun bdun |
| **South** | Dma'-la La-rgyud | Rma-la La-brgyud | Sma-la La-rgyud |
| **West** | Snye-mo Gzhu | Gzhu Snye-mo | Gnye-mo Gzhu |
| **North** | Srag gi Glang-ma Gur-phub | Prags-kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub | Sprags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub |
| **Centre** | Lha-sa Ra-mo-che | Lha-sa Ra-mo-che | Lha-sa 'Phrul-snang |

Central Horn is located in Central Tibet, centred on Lhasa. The eastern border, 'Ol-ka Shug-pa Spun-bdun, may be the same as the minor kingdom of 'Ol-yul/ 'O-yul, most likely corresponding to present-day 'Ol-kha in Zangs-ri County bordering Nyang-po and Kong-po. To the south it shares a border, 'the lower mountain range' (Dma'-la La-rgyud), with Left Horn. The western border, Snye-mo Gzhu, corresponds to the Snye-mo Ma-chu Valley in modern-day Snye-mo County. The northern border,

[110] Quoted from an excerpt of table seven in SØRENSEN and HAZOD *forthcoming*, kindly forwarded by Prof. Sørensen.

Prags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub (*KhG*), would seem to indicate a nomadic area. TUCCI (1956: 77, n. 1) suggests that it ‘may be near glang thang’, that is, in the area immediately southwest of modern 'Phan-po township (DORJE 1999: 144). As is evident from the catalogues of administrative districts (*sde-dpon-tshan*) at {3.1.1a} and thousand-districts at {3.1.1b}, however, Central Horn extended to the north of 'Phan-yul. Therefore Sprags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub more likely indicates, as Hazod suggests, either Spra-kha sgang/ Spra-kha 'dam in Snying-grong district just south of 'Dam-gzhung, or to Sbra-kha in the Dbu-ma-thang district of 'Dam-gzhung County further east (HAZOD *forthcoming*, map). While *Lde'u* and *KhG* each give the Lha-sa Ra-mo-che Temple as the centre of Central Horn, *Jo sras* names the Lha-sa 'Phrul-snang, i.e., the Jo-khang. This is the only case where *Jo sras*’ catalogue of the horn borders differs significantly from those found in *Lde'u* and *KhG*. This may be significant, given the hypothesis that the catalogues of thousand-districts in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* reflect an arrangement of territory prior to that recorded in the catalogues of *Lde'u*, *BK* and *KhG*: while the construction of the Ra-mo-che is traditionally attributed to Wen-ceng Kong-co, it is likely that she is here confused with the other Chinese princess, Jin-cheng Kong-co, who arrived in Tibet in 710, and that the Ra-mo-che was in fact built during her time in Tibet (710-739) (RICHARDSON 1998 [1990c]: 181; RICHARDSON 1998c: 212-13). This is not to conclude, however, that the Ra-mo-che had not yet been built at the time of this catalogue: it may simply not yet have become the centre of Central Horn.

**Right Horn**

Table 34: The Borders of Right Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **East** | Srag gi Glang-ma Gur-phub | Prags-kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub | Sprags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **South** | Snye-nam G.yag-po sna | Gnya'-ni G.yag-po'i sna | Snye-nam G.yag so sna |
| **West** | Bye-ma La-dgu | Bye-ma La-dgu | Gtsang-la Ma dgu gyes |
| **North** | Rmi-sti Chu-nag | Smri-ti Chu-nag | Rme'u-ti Chu-nag |
| **Centre** | Shangs kyi Zhong-tshal | Shangs-kyi Zhong-pa-tshal | Zho zhe 'tshal |

The thousand-districts of Right Horn are by far the most difficult toponyms to locate of any in the four horns of Tibet. Right Horn is located generally in the Lower Gtsang region, with most of it, apparently, on the north side of the Gtsang-po. Branch Horn, likewise, is generally located further to the west, and mostly (but not exclusively) on the south side of the Gtsang-po. The eastern border, Prags kyi Glang-ma Gur-phub (*KhG*), doubles as the northern border of Central Horn, which has been treated above. CHAB-SPEL (1989: 105) places the southern border, Snye-nam G.yag-po sna (*Lde'u*)/ Gnya'-ni G.yag-po'i sna (*KhG*), in modern Gnya-nang County. The western border, Bye-ma La-dgu, may be the same as the northern border of Branch Horn, Bye-ma La-sngon. TUCCI (1956: 78, n. 4) considers Bye-mda', to the northwest of Rgyal-rtse, as a possible location for Bye-ma La-dgu. More likely, however, is Chab-spel's equation of this area with a mountain called Bye-ma La is modern Ngam-ring County, since this area serves as the traditional border between Gtsang and Mnga'-ris (CHAB-SPEL 1989: 105). The name provided by *Jo sras*, Gtsang-la Ma-dgu gyes, is enticing, but may be due only to the many fantastic errors found in this text. One possibility is that it refers to the Mount Gtsang-lha, which is not far from Ngam-ring. The northern border, Rmi-sti Chu-nag, also forms the southern border of Sum-pa'i ru, and this would seem to be the Nag-chu river, or Salween, possibly as it passes through Lha-ri County. YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 99, n. 12), however, has located this area 'to the south of gNam mtsho, upstream of the Skyi chu River', adding that the Rmi-sti chu 'presumably corresponds to the Chu-nu-ho (Chu nag) River in the south by east

of gNam mtsho'. The centre of Right Horn, Shangs kyi Zhong-tshal (*Lde'u*)/ Zhong-pa-tshal (*KhG*), would appear to correspond to the Shangs Valley of modern Rnam-gling County, or to Gzhong-gzhong of the same area (CHAB-SPEL 1989: 105).

## Branch Horn

Table 35: The Borders of Branch Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **East** | Ne na bkra | 'Jam ne bkra | 'Dzam ne na tra |
| **South** | Bal-po Glang-dgur | Bal-po Glang-sna | Bal-po Glang-gud |
| **West** | Khen mag mig | La-kem G.yag-mig | La-ken G.yag-mig |
| **North** | Bye-ma La-sngon | Bye-ma La-sngon | Bye-ma Sa-sngon |
| **Centre** | Sbrad kyi Ngur-pa sna | Brad-kyi Dur-pa sna | Srid kyi Dur-pa sna |

The borders of Branch Horn, referred to in *BK* as Rtsang Branch Horn (Rtsang Ru-lag), are more easily identifiable than those of Right Horn. The location of the eastern border, 'Jam ne bkra (*KhG*)/ 'Dzam na bkra (*Jo sras*)/ Ne ne bkra (*Lde'u*), is uncertain, but should be situated in the general area of modern-day Rin-spungs County. The southern border, Bal-po Glang sna (*KhG*)/ Bal-po Glang-dgur (*Lde'u*), may well be located in Nepal, and perhaps the Kathmandu Valley. CHAB-SPEL (1989: 105) places it on the border with Nepal. The western border, La-ken G.yag-mig (*Jo sras*)/ Khen mag mig (*Lde'u*), is likely situated near Mang-yul, bordering modern-day Nepal in southwest Gtsang (TUCCI 1956: 72). The northern border, Bye-ma La-sngon, may be the same as Bye-ma La dgu, the western border of Right Horn, as mentioned directly above. The centre, Sprad kyi Ngur-pa sna (*Lde'u*)/ Brad kyi Dur-pa sna (*KhG*)/ Srid kyi Dur-pa sna (*Jo sras*), may be Srad in the Shab River Valley of modern day Sa-skya County (SØRENSEN AND HAZOD 2005: 44, n. 16).

## Sum pa's Horn

Table 36: The Borders of Sum-pa's Branch Horn (Yan-lag Sum pa'i ru/ Sum-pa'i ru-lag).

| | *Lde'u* | *KhG* | *Jo sras* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **East** | Gnye-yul Bre-nag | Gnye-yul Bum-nag | Gnyen-yul Brag-ra |
| **South** | Rmi-sti Chu-nag | Smri-ti Chu-nag | Rmi'u-ti Chu-nag |
| **West** | Spel-zhabs Sding-po-che | Yel-zhabs Sdings-po-che | Spel-zhabs Sding-po-che |
| **North** | Nags-pa shod Gzi-'phrang | Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang | Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang |
| **Centre** | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal | Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal |

This area is referred to as Sum-pa's Horn (Sum-pa'i Ru), Sum-pa's Branch Horn (Sum-pa'i Ru-lag), the additional Horn of Sum-pa (Yan lag Sum-pa'i ru), Sum Horn (Sum-ru) and also—most likely due to a typographical error—as 'third horn' (Gsum-pa'i ru). The location of the eastern border, Gnye-yul Bre-nag (*Lde'u*)/ Gnye-yul Bum-nag (*KhG*)/ Gnyen-yul Brag-ra (*Jo sras*), is uncertain. The southern border is formed by a river, Rmi-sti Chu-nag, most likely the Nag-chu (Salween) River, which forms the northern border of Right Horn. The location of the western border, Yel-zhabs Sdings-po-che (*KhG*)/ Spel-zhabs Sding-po-che (*Lde'u, Jo sras*),[111] are both unclear. The northern border, Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang (*KhG, Jo sras*), would seem to indicate modern Nags-shod 'Bri-ru in 'Bri-ru County, located along the Salween to the east of Nag-chu. This poses a problem, however, as it would place the northern border on roughly the same latitude as the southern border. The centre, Rgya-shod Stag-pa-tshal, is also uncertain, though YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 101) offers the environs of Rgya-mda' as an educated guess.

According to the 'administrative arrangement of territories' (*yul gyi mkhod bshams-pa*) in *Lde'u* at {3.7.5}, Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams is the territory of the additional Horn of Sum-pa (Sum-pa ru yan-lag gi yul). This tradition may predate the

[111] This is likely one of the many instances where the editors have transcribed the *dbu-med sp* as a *y*, and I am therefore inclined to prefer *KhG*'s orthography.

borders of the horns contained in the above catalogues, but still offers a clue for the location of Sum-pa's Horn. Reciprocally, it also provides a general location for Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams, which, along with Mdo-smad and Bde-khams/ Bde-blon-khams, comprised most of the eastern portion of the Tibetan Empire.

Another source, *GK* (185), offers some hints regarding the location of Sum-pa's Horn. In its abbreviated catalogue of thousand-districts, translated above at {2}, it states, 'Those who protect the borders of the thousand-districts on the border of Tibet and China were attached to the orders of [i.e., placed under the jurisdiction of] the Sum-pa tribes, and appointed to manage the borders in the land of Mi-nyag.' This demonstrates that the Sum-pa tribes had jurisdiction over the land of Mi-nyag, but the relationship between the 'Sum-pa' tribes and Sum-pa's Horn is far from proven (YAMAGUCHI 1970b: 97, n. 1).

This association with Eastern Tibet is very strong, but at {3.3.1b} the *SLS* plainly states that Sum-pa borders Lower Zhang-Zhung. In addition, two of the thousand-districts of Sum-pa's Horn, Upper Rgod-tshang and Lower Rgod-tshang, appear to be located in Western Tibet in the 'Gar region in modern Seng-ge Gtsang-po County (*infra*, {3.3.1b}). One explanation for Sum-pa's Horn's association with both east and west is that it was oblong in shape, and far longer from east to west than from north to south.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.2}: the Eight Valley-mouth Border Watch-posts (*so-kha rong-kha*)

***Jo sras* {3.1.2}**

Thereupon, Tibet was divided into eight valley-mouth border watch-posts (*so-kha rong-kha*). [1] The Rgod snyan lung Valley demarcated the border of China and Tibet. [2] The Zhang-pa Brgya-bcu Valley demarcated the border of Tibet and Zhang-zhung. [3] The Lcags-gzer Gcugs-pa demarcated the border of Tibet and Bon. [4] The Shab-shang Brgya-bcu Valley demarcated the border of Tibet and Stag-gzig. [5] The Zangs-thang Sha'i-gling demarcated the border of Tibet and Hor. [6] The Rgya-shar Valley demarcated the border of Tibet and Khrom. [7] The Ra-ga Valley demarcated the border of Tibet and 'Jang. Thus the eight border watch-posts came under Tibetan control.

***Jo sras* {3.1.2}**

*des la bod la so kha rong kha brgyad kyis gcad de rgya dang bod kyi so mtshams rgod snyan lung gi rong gis bcad/ bod dang zhang zhung gi so mtshams zhang pa brgya bcu rong gis bcad/ bod dang bon gyi so mtshams lcags gzer gcugs pas bcad/ bod dang stag gzig gi so mtshams shab shang brgya bcu rong gis bcad/ hor dang bod kyi so mtshams zangs thang sha'i gling gis bcad khrom dang bod kyi so mtshams rgya shar rong gis bcad/ 'jang dang bod kyi so mtshams ra ga rong gis bcad do / de ltar so kha brgyad bod yul gyi mngar gcad do /* (*Jo sras*: 111-12).

## Analysis {3.1.2}

The classification of the eight valley mouth border watch posts is formulaic, and one would expect it to proceed according to the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate directions. This, however, is not the case, and the catalogue only names seven borders. The passage names well-known countries such as China,

Zhang-zhung and 'Jang, the latter of which corresponds roughly to Nanzhao, but the other place names are less specific. Notably, Stag-gzig is thought to lie generally to the west, perhaps even designating Iran, but this doubles as the mythical homeland of Ston-pa Gshen-rab and the Bon religion. It is especially striking to see Bon mentioned as a bordering country, as this is somewhat rare. A famous Dunhuang fragment, PT 1038, lists three theories concerning the origin of the Tibetan emperors, who it designates as 'Spu-rgyal, emperors of *bon*' (*spu rgyal bon gyI btsan po*) (PT 1038, l. 2). LALOU (1953) read this as a corruption of 'Spu-rgyal, emperors of Tibet (*bod*)', and noted it as a typical example of alternation between *d* and *n* suffixes in Old Tibetan. Nonetheless, the later religious histories of the organised Bon religion (*bon bstan 'byung*) assert that Bon was prevalent in Tibet before the country even had a name, and that Bon was corrupted to Bod to create the name for Tibet (BJERKEN 2001: 54-55, 99, n. 67). It is interesting to find in *Jo sras* some early support for what seems a spurious folk etymology, although one notes that Bon is here seen to border Tibet.

Hor and Khrom are each used to indicate countries to the north, but their exact denotation is difficult to precise. Hor is used as an ethnonym for northern people in much the same way as Mon is used for those to the south. Khrom is more problematic. It is often associated with Ge-sar, who is also located to the north in such arrangements of territory (STEIN 1961a: 6; STEIN 1959: 252-61).

The locations of these border areas are vague, and are thus far unidentified.

**Translation and Transliteration {3.1.3—3.1.5}: the Six Types of *Btsan-'bangs*, the Three (Classificatory) Maternal Uncles (*zhang*) and the Four Ministers**

***Jo sras* {3.1.3—3.1.5}**

{3.1.3} Concerning the six clans of the *btsan* subjects, they are the Lo and Bran-ka, the two, the Sba and Ngan-lam, the two, and the Gshu-rings and Phur-pa, the two.

{3.1.4} Concerning the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*), they are the Sna-nam, Mchims, and 'Bro.

{3.1.5} Concerning the four ministers, they are the Khu, 'Gar, Sba and 'Gos.

***Jo sras* {3.1.3—3.1.5}**

*btsan 'bangs rus drug ni/ lo dang / bran ka gnyis sba dang ngan lam gnyis/ gshu rings dang phur pa gnyis so/ zhang gsum ni/ sna nam/ mtshims*[112] *dang / 'bro'o/ blon bzhi ni/ khu dang / 'gar dang / sba dang / 'gos so /* (*Jo sras*: 112).

**Analysis** {3.1.3—3.1.5}

I have already discussed above at {2.7} such classifications as the six clans of paternal subjects and the six proto-clans of Tibet. The six clans of *btsan* subjects, however, are far more obscure. Of those six mentioned, the Bran-ka, Ngan-lam and Sba are famous, while the Lo, Gshu-rings and Phur-pa are far less well-known. While

[112] Read Mchims.

members of the first three clans served as close advisors to the Tibetan emperors, I can think of no connection that links all six clans, and can therefore offer no solid hypothesis of what the position of the *btsan* subjects would have been.

The matter of the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the four ministers is somewhat complicated. In *Lde'u* and *KhG*, these are usually collapsed into one institution, the 'three maternal uncles, four with the minister', as they are in the catalogue of the six institutions at {3.7.4}, and this matter is analysed in detail there.

The next catalogue, that of the four ministers, is also intriguing. As it lists only clan names, it is difficult to be specific about who exactly they refer to, but as these clan names are so well-known, it is possible to locate them temporally. The Khu clan, for example, is associated with the heartland of Yar-lung and 'Phyong-rgyas (DOTSON *forthcoming a*), and the succession of prime ministers in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* names Khu Lha-bo Mgo-gar as the third of Tibet's prime ministers (*infra*, {3.8.3}). The same succession also names Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung, who served not long after the famous Mgar Stong-rtsan Yul-zung. It is the mention of 'Gar in this list, however, that is most interesting, since the Mgar/ 'Gar clan were on the losing end of a civil war decided at the turn of the eighth century. Most of the clan fled to China, and they did not hold high governmental posts after their disgrace. The mention of 'Gos is also interesting, since there was only one famous Mgos minister, Khri-bzang Yab-lag, who served during the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, and was appointed prime minister in 763. Several members of the Sba/ Dba's clan served as ministers and prime ministers, but given the order of the list, it appears likely that it is ordered temporally, beginning with Khu and ending with 'Gos. This would mean that Sba likely indicates one of the four ministers of this clan who served as prime minister

between 705 and Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lag's appointment in 763.[113] Accordingly, the catalogue must post-date Mgos' appointment as prime minister.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.6}: the Four Great Ones, Five with the *Ring*

### *Jo sras* {3.1.6}

Concerning the four great ones, five with the *ring*, they were [1] the great commissioner (*ring-lugs*) of the Bhagavan, [2] the great queen(s) (Jo-mo) in charge of political affairs, [3] the prime minister (*zhang-blon*) of both outer and inner councils, [4] the emperor's great mantra specialist (*sku'i sngags mkhan che*) and [5] the presence, the ruler himself (*ring sa-bdag rgyal-po nyid*) himself makes five.

### *Jo sras* {3.1.6}

*che bzhi ring dang lnga ni/ bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs che/ chab srid 'dzin pa'i jo mo che/ bka' phyi nang gnyis kyi zhang blon che/ sku'i sngags mkhan che/ ring sa bdag rgyal po nyid dang lnga'o* (*Jo sras*: 112).

## Analysis {3.1.6}

A group of four high-ranking ministers is mentioned in PT 1071, an Old Tibetan legal document that delineates the major strata of Tibetan society.[114] The uppermost rank is defined as the four great ministers (*zhang-blon chen-po bzhi*), who

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[113] On the succession of prime ministers, see RICHARDSON 1998 [1977a].
[114] See DOTSON 2004: 81.

were also referred to simply as the four ‘great ones’ (*chen-po*). These were: [1] prime minister (*blon chen-po*), [2] great minister of the interior (*nang-blon chen-po*), [3] the veritable maternal uncle of the emperor endowed with political authority (*btsan-po'i zhang-drung chab-srid la dbang-ba*), and [4] deputy to the prime minister (*blon chen-po'i 'og-pon*). One would expect, therefore, that the ‘four great ones, five with the *ring*’ would refer to this group, plus the religious office of the *ring-lugs kyi ban-de chen-po*, which might have developed as an addition to the old power structure after the monks gained political prominence beginning in the latter part of the eighth century.

The group of five in this catalogue records something quite different, however. The great commissioner (*ring-lugs*) of the Bhagavan is named in the first place.[115] This immediately reveals that the catalogue post-dates the late eighth century, when Buddhist monks gained a prominent place in government. This crucial political development is associated in post-dynastic histories with Dba's Ye-shes Dbang-po, the first Tibetan abbot of Bsam-yas.[116] The impression given by Old Tibetan sources, however, is that the political rise of the Buddhist Sangha was intertwined with the supremacy of the monk ministers Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po and Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan. The second inscription at Ldan-ma-brag, for example, dating to the monkey year 804, records the appointment of Buddhist monks, in particular, Bran-ka Yon-tan, to the great religious and political council, and their ennoblement with aristocratic rank from gold insignia downwards (*dge' slong chos dang chab srid kyi*

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[115] For the use of *ring-lugs* as ‘commissioner’, or even ‘abbot’ in Old Tibetan sources, see RICHARDSON 1985: 53, n. 12. See also WALTER 1998b.
[116] See the *Dba' bzhed*’s account in WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 75-76, and that of the *Sba bzhed* in STEIN 1961b: 53-54.

*bka' chen po la btags ste/ gser gyI bku rgyal man cad gyi thabs rtsal/*) (CHAB-SPEL 2003 [1988]: 87).[117]

The second position in the catalogue, occupied by 'the great queen(s) (Jo-mo) in charge of political affairs', is as yet unattested in Old Tibetan sources. Numerous royal queens and ladies, particularly 'Bro Khri-ma-lod, who ruled Tibet for the first decade of the eighth century and is more deserving of the title 'Empress', played an important role in politics (*chab-srid*). The *Old Tibetan Annals* mention numerous dynastic marriages between Tibetan ladies and foreign rulers, and these were instrumental in the subjugation of both the minor kingdom of Dags-po and the land of 'A-zha, both of whom stood as nephews/ sons-in-law/ wife-receivers (*dbon*) in relation to Tibet, which through such marriages became their maternal uncle/ father-in-law/ wife-giver (*zhang*). It is notable that these unions were often followed by the total subjugation of the wife-receivers, and, as is evident from the examples of Dags-po, the land of 'A-zha, and indeed Zhang-zhung, where Sad-mar-kar famously married King Lig-myi-hya, the Tibetan ladies given in marriage played no small role in the assimilation or defeat of their husbands' countries. Stein noted an interesting linguistic feature of the term *chab-srid* in this connection. While it refers to politics and polities, the term *chab-srid la gshegs*, 'to go to politic', can indicate either going to war, or going as a bride to a foreign ruler (STEIN 1973: 413, n. 5). The position described in this catalogue, however, suggests that Tibetan royal ladies held an important political office placed very high in the order of rank.

The third of the four 'great ones', the 'prime minister (*zhang-blon*) of both outer and inner councils', would seem to refer simply to the Tibetan prime minister.

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[117] See also IMAEDA *forthcoming a*. See, however, the addendum to RICHARDSON 1998 [1988]: 278 where Richardson supports the later date of 816 (RICHARDSON 1998b).

The form of this title appears to be a contraction of that found on the Lhasa Treaty Pillar to describe Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan's post: 'great monk attached to the great council and in charge of internal and external political affairs'. In the case of this catalogue, of course, the office is that of the prime minister, and not a 'great monk'.

The fourth, 'the emperor's great mantra specialist' (*sku'i sngags mkhan che*), is named elsewhere in the *SLS* {3.3.5a}, where he also holds a high rank. The term 'body' (*sku*) in this case refers to the Tibetan emperor, who is also sometimes indicated with other terms like 'god' (*sku-bla, bla*), and 'presence' (*zha-snga, ring*). This office suggests the existence of an office held by a tantric specialist who served as a personal priest to the emperor. This is particularly interesting in terms of the transformation of royal ritual practices after the adoption of Buddhism as the official religion of Tibet in c. 779. It suggests that tantrists played an important role as royal priests, and perhaps as caretakers of the emperor's divinity, a crucial duty in terms of competition and rivalry among the priestly class.

The final place in the catalogue is held by the '*ring*', qualified as the *ring sa-bdag rgyal-po*. This indicates the emperor himself, with *ring* indicating his presence.[118]

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.7}: the Nine Great Ones, Ten with the *Ring*

***Jo sras* {3.1.7}**

[118] On this definition of *ring* see WALTER 1998a.

Concerning the nine great ones, ten with the *ring*, [1] Sbas Che-btsan Bya-ru-can Snang-bzher was great because he possessed the *ke-ke-ru* jewel and the tiger's *gong-thong*. [2] Mchims Snyal-pa Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting was great because he possessed the great turquoise insignia swastika and ninety thousand bondservants (*bran dgu khri*). [3] 'Bro Khrom-mda' Cung-pa was great because he possessed the white lion coat (*gong-glag*). [4] Sna-nam Rgyal-nyer Nya-bzangs-te was great because he was a great religious attendant (*chos kyi bla-mkhyen*).[119] [5] Sbrang Rgyal-ra Legs-gzigs was great because he had the turquoise swastika and gold insignia. [6] Myang Zha-rje was great because he possessed a heavenly hat (*gnam gyi zhwa*). [7] Cog-ro Stag-can Gzigs-can was great. [8] Lo Te-ku Sna-gong was great because he possessed the gold [insignia]. [9] The ministers subduing the frontier borders were great.

### *Jo sras* **{3.1.7}**

*che dgu ring bcu ni/ sbas che btsan bya ru can snang bzher lha btsan la/ nor bu ke ke ru dang stag gi gong thong yod pas che/ mtshims*[120] *snyal pa rgyal gzigs shud ti*[121] *la g.yu'i yi ge g.yung rung*[122] *chen po dang / bran dgu khra*[123] *yod pas che/ 'bro khrom mda' cung pa la/ seng ge dkar mo'i gong glag yod pas che/ sna nam rgyal nyer nya bzangs te chos kyi bla mkhyen yin pas che/ sbrang rgyal ra legs gzigs la/ g.yu'i g.yung rung*[124] *dang gser gyi yi ge yod pas che/ myang zha rje la gnam gyi zhA yod pas che/*

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[119] According to BTSAN-LHA (1997: 571), *bla-mkhyen* indicates an attendant, guard or spy (*bya-ra byed mkhan*).
[120] Read *mchims*.
[121] Read *ting*.
[122] Read *drung*.
[123] Read *khri*.
[124] Read *drung*.

*cog ro stag can gzig can che/ lo te ku sna gong la gser gyi yod pas che/ mtha'i so 'dul ba'i blon po che 'o/* (*Jo sras*: 112).

**Analysis** {3.1.7}

The mention of nine great ones is reminiscent of the lists of ministers found in royal edicts. In the Bsam-yas Edict, for example, preserved in *KhG*, Khri Srong-lde-btsan's ministers swear to uphold Buddhism as the official religion of Tibet. After the lord of 'A-zha, a minor king, the edict lists nine great ministers attached to the council (*zhang-blon chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*) (*KhG*: 372). Similarly, the first Tibetan signatories to the Lhasa Treaty Inscription are the nine 'great political ministers attached to the council' (*chab-srid kyI blon-po chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*). While it could be a mere coincidence that both of these Old Tibetan records name nine ministers of this tier, it seems likely that this refers to an institutional arrangement of power, now unlike that of the 'four great ones' mentioned above in connection with PT 1071. It is worth noting, however, that Khri Lde-srong-btsan's Skar-cung Edict, preserved in *KhG* (412), names only six 'political ministers attached to the great council' (*chab-srid kyi blon-po bka' chen-po la gtogs-pa*).

Turning to the present catalogue, through some of the names are identifiable, others, such as 'the one with the tiger and the leopard' (*stags-can gzigs-can*) are formulaic. The first in the catalogue, Sbas Che-btsan 'the one with the bird horns' (bya-ru-can) Snang-bzher, is unidentified at present, but his implements, the *ke-ke-ru* jewel and the tiger's *gong-thong,* warrant comment. In the final entry of the *Old Tibetan Annals* (military version), the hare year 763, it states, 'Prime Minister [Dba's] Snang-bzher [Zu-btsan] was bestowed with *ke-ke-ru* insignia and appointed prime minister (*blon cher bcug*).' This is the highest insignia, and the word *ke-ke-ru*,

borrowed from Sanskrit *karketana*, indicates the precious gem chrysoberyl. The tiger's *gong-thong* is reminiscent of a passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* describing the same period, where a reward for bravery is given to the subjects of three thousand-districts involved in the sack of the Chinese capital. The text reads, 'Among the subjects, Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom [thousand-districts] were bestowed with the "fruit of the tiger" (*stagI thog-bu*) as a sign of their heroism (*dpa'-ba'I mtshan-ma*).' (*'bangs kyI nang na / dor te pyug tshams ste 'dzom dpa' ba 'I mtshan mar / stagI thog bu stsal to /*) (PT 1287, ll. 385-86; *DTH*: 115, 154). In both cases, unfortunately, the meanings of *gong-thong* and *thog-bu* remain obscure. The use of tiger symbolism in connection with martial recurs throughout the *SLS*, and is discussed in greater detail at {3.5.6}.

The second 'great one' in the list, Mchims Snyal-pa Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting, is well-known as the famous general who participated in the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763. Entries in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the years 762 and 763 mention him in this connection (*DTH*: 59-60, 65-66), as does the south inscription on the Zhol Pillar (RICHARDSON 1985: 12-13, l. 57). He is also mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s narration of the same events (*DTH*: 114, 153), which also reveals from its succession of ministers that he went on to serve as prime minister. Aside from the *ke-ke-ru* insignia, which is effectively above and beyond the usual hierarchy of insignia, the turquoise is the highest. I know of no mention in Old Tibetan sources, however, of the swastika as an insignia or emblem of rank. The catalogue's statement that Mchims Rgyal-gzigs had ninety thousand bondservants seems astronomical. On the other hand, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* records that Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan awarded thousands of bondservants to his co-conspirators from the Myang, Dba's, Gnon and Tshes-pong clans after their defeat of Ngas-po. Further, the *Chronicle* also records

that Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, after his conquest of Rtsang-bod, offered twenty thousand subject households to the emperor, only to have them granted back to him in reward for his services. Coming as it does from an epic narrative concerned primarily with glorifying the Tibetan royal line, however, these numbers may have been exagerrated.

The third 'great one', 'Bro Khrom-mda' Cung-pa, is unidentified at present, but, again, his implement, the white lion coat (*gong-glag*), is worth noting. According to KARMAY (1972: 226), *gong-lag* means 'collar'. The *Li shi'i gur khang* (83), a fifteenth century list of old words, states that *slag-pa* means 'leather clothing' (*pags-pa'i gos*). Joining *slag-pa* with *gong*, meaning 'neck', *gong-slag/ gong-glag* it would seem to indicate a lion's mane. In a work on ancient tombs found in Gtsang, Pasang Wangdu argues that the white lion is affiliated with the 'Bro clan (WANGDU 1994: 636), and this catalogue would appear to support his conclusion. Further, Wangdu defines *seng-ge gong-slag* as an upper garment made of some type of 'lion' skin or fur (whether from a real lion or not is doubtful), perhaps akin to a *chuba*.

The fourth 'great one', Sna-nam Rgyal-nyer Nya-bzangs-te, is also unidentified at present. Sbrang Rgyal-ra Legs-gzigs, on the other hand, is listed third among the nine 'great ministers attached to the council' (*zhang-blon chen-po bka' la gtogs-pa*) who swore to Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict (*KhG*: 372). The same minister is named in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, where he leads a campaign against the upper region (*stod phyogs*) following the Tibetan victory at Keng-shi (PT 1287, ll. 380-81; *DTH*: 114-15, 153).

The remainder of the catalogue is unremarkable, and none of the figures mentioned are identifiable at present. The list names only eight 'great ones', and no

‘presence’ (*ring*) at all, and closes with a formulaic statement about protecting the borders.

Intriguingly, this same structure of ‘nine great ones, ten with the *ring*’, is found in a totally different context elsewhere to refer to the authors of seven clan histories. While this may not seem immediately relevant to the *Section on Law and State*, the following passage will reveal a connection.

> Considering the six clans of the little black-headed men, if one enumerates them stealthily, they are each great. They have split in a thousand pieces every which way. There are seven texts in Tibet. [1] The *Srid pa gung spel* is the text of the Smug-po Ldong. [2] The *Smug nag zil pa* is the text of the Se, Khyung and Dbra. [3] The *Stong sgra dmar* is the text of the Khri gzi 'Gru. [4] The *Skya bo mtha' yas* is the text of the Dmu tsha Sga. [5] The *Khrims dang tshig gi yig nag* is the text of both the Dba' and Lda. [6] The *Ya mtshan g.yu'i mchig gu* is the text of the ministers. [7] The *Lcags kyi bra ba mgo nag* is the text of the *mtha' ngan pa shag*.
>
> [Relating to] those texts are: 1) the scholars who composed them; 2) their objectives and the purpose of their composition; 3) their genre (literally, ‘the direction to which they are attached’); 4) the sources for the lineages; and 5) a full summary.
>
> Now, as for the scholars who composed them, they are known as the nine great ones, ten with the *ring*. The ten scholars composed them. As for their purpose, they are intended to teach those in later generations who do not understand, so that they may understand, and be as a blind man who is given eyes. As for their genre (*phyogs*), they relate to human customs (*mi-chos*) and royal law (*rgyal-khrims*). The lineage is extracted from divine lineages (*lha-rgyud*) and demonic lineages (*'dre-rgyud*). The full summaries are in ten parts, that summarise the beings related to them.
>
> *dbu nag mi'u gdung drug la/ kha khar rtsis na so sor che/ gyes pa stong kun la yod/ bod la yig tshang bdun yod pa/ srid pa gung spel de/ smug po ldong gi yig tshang yin/ smug nag zil pa de/ se khyung dbra'i yig tshang yin/ stong sgra dmar de/ khri gzi 'gru'i yig tshang yin/ skya bo mtha' yas de/ dmu tsha sga'i yig tshang yin/ khrims dang tshig gi yig nag de/ dba' lda gnyis kyi yig tshang yin/ ya mtshan g.yu'i mchig gu de/ blon po rnams kyi yig tshang yin/ lcags kyi bra ba mgo nag de/ mtha' ngan pa shag gi yig tshang yin/ yig tshang de rnams slob dpon gang gis mdzad pa dang gcig don chen ci'i don du mdzad pa dang gnyis/ phyogs gar gtogs pa dang gsum/ rgyud gang nas btus pa dang bzhi/ dbu zhabs su don bsdus pa dang lnga'o/ da mdzad pa'i slob dpon ni/ che dgu ring bcu zhes bya ste/ dpon slob bcus mdzad/ don ched ni phyi rabs kyi sems can ma go ba rnams la go bar ston pa'i ched du/ long ba la mig byin pa dang 'dra ba'i phyir du mdzad/ phyogs ni mi chos dang rgyal khrims gyi phyogs su gtogs/ rgyud ni lha rgyud 'dre rgyud gnyis las btus/ dbu zhabs su bsdus pa la don rnam pa bcu yod ste/ don*

*dang ldan pa'i skyes bu rnams las btus/* (KARMAY and NAGANO 2002: 91-92, 117).[125]

Looking through this list of clan histories and comparing it with the present catalogue, it is evident that the clan names do not agree. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the catalogue in the *SLS* corresponds to the authors of these histories. The above catalogue in the *SLS* corresponds closely with the 'seven great ones' found in *Lde'u* at {3.3.4a}, however, and while that catalogue names most of the same people, it sometimes introduces them as the 'great ones' of their respective *clans*. It cannot be ruled out that there is a relationship between these catalogues in the *SLS* and the tradition of nine authors of clan histories, rendered opaque by textual corruption.

The clan histories are identified as belonging to the genre of human customs (*mi-chos*) and royal law (*rgyal-khrims*), which make them further relevant to the *SLS*. These 'texts', moreover, may relate to the 'texts' (*yig-tshang*) that are listed in the catalogue of the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) at {3.5.3b} in relation to the wise.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.8—3.1.10}: the Divisions of Heroes, the Eighteen Great Ldong Clans, the Four *Stong-rje* and the Eight Subject Territories (*khol*)

### *Jo sras* {3.1.8—3.1.10}

{3.1.8} The divisions of heroes, the eighteen great Ldong clans.

{3.1.9} The four *stong-rje*.

[125] For an alternative treatment of this same passage, see VITALI 2003: 52.

{3.1.10} The eight subject territories (*khol*).

**_Jo sras_ {3.1.8—3.1.10}**

*dpa' sde ldong rus chen bco brgyad/ stong rje bzhi khol brgyad/* (*Jo sras*: 112).

**Analysis** {3.1.8—3.1.10}

These three catalogues are nothing more than the measures already announced in the outline, and do nothing to clarify these structures. In announcing the first of these catalogues, the outline {2.12} states, 'the divisions of the heroes Ldong ['Dong] and Stong tamed the Chinese and Dru-gu of the frontiers.' This relates, of course, to the earlier discussion of Ldong-Stong as an Old Tibetan ethnonym that, like Lho-Rngegs, appears to refer to more than the sum of the two clan names that comprise it. The contentious relationship between these and the proto-clans of Tibet was also discussed above, and this catalogue makes the connection explicit with its reference to the 'regiments of heroes' (*dpa'-sde*) as 'the eighteen great Ldong clans'. The *SLS* in *KhG* and *Lde'u* go into some detail about the regiments of heroes, and this will be considered at {3.7.6}. It is very interesting, however, given the myths of the ethnogenesis of the Ldong clan, which nearly always place the clan in Eastern Tibet, that the *SLS* in *Jo sras* identifies the eighteen great Ldong clans as warrior bands on the borders with China and the Turks. It is also interesting to note throughout the *SLS* the association of Ldong-Stong with warriors and with bravery.

The second measure, the four *stong-rje*, is not mentioned in the outline, and is little more than an outline itself, as it does not constitute a catalogue. UEBACH (1989:

825) glosses *stong-rje* as *stong-bu-rje*, or 'lord of little thousand-district'.[126] The mention of only four here would presumably correspond to the heads of the little thousand-districts (*stong bu-chung*) of the four horns of Tibet.

The final measure, the 'eight subject territories (*khol*)', is again nothing more than an outline, and not a catalogue, so little can be said about it.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.1.11}: the Subject Workers: the Nine Rulers (*srid-pa*), the Seven Herdsmen, the Six Experts (*mkhan*), the Five Objects of Trade (*tshong*), the Four Kings[127] and the Three 'Holders' (*'dzin*)

### *Jo sras* {3.1.11}

Concerning the nine subject rulers (*srid-pa*), they are: [1] Gnubs-rje Srid-pa, [2] Stong-rje Glang-pa, [3] Lho-rje Gle-ba, [4] Mchims Brus-pa, [5] Nyag-nyi Phyag-pa, [6] Bra-sa Bskos-pa, [7] Khyegs Gle-ba, [8] Shi'u Chang-pa and [9] So Phye-pa.

Concerning the seven subjects herdsmen (*rdzi*), they are: [1] Lo-ngam the horse herder (Rta-rdzi), [2] Ltam-po the *'bri* herder, [3] Ra-ga the cow herder, [4] Mkhar-pa the sheep herder, [5] 'Gos the goat herder, [6] Bya the dog herder, and [7] Rngog the pig herder.

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[126] For a discussion of this term in Old Tibetan sources, see URAY 1982: 546.
[127] This seems to relate to a sentence in the outline that states, 'he gathered under his dominion the four appointed kings' at {2.3}.

Concerning the six subject experts (*mkhan-po*/ *mkhan*), they are: [1] Gar-g.yo the dancer, [2] Gar-ru the saddle-maker, [3] Srags the bow-maker, [4] Ra-shags the arrow-smith, [5] Bya-nad the falconer, and [6] Tshong-rji the cobbler.

Concerning the five subject objects of trade (*tshong-pa*): [1] China sold little birds, [2] 'A-zha sold *'od-pa*, [3] the Turks sold turquoise, [4] the 'Dan-ma sold silk, and [5] the Glan sold salt.

Concerning the four subject kings, they are: [1] Nam-pa Sde-rgyal, [2] Bal-po Lang-ling, [3] Sum-pa Lcags-rgyal and [4] Mong Rtse-rgyal.

Concerning the three subject ‘holders’, they are: [1] Gdags Sra-'dzin, [2] Nyang-po Lcags-'dzin and [3] Grod Bya-'dzin.

As for the seventeen and one half civilian (*g.yung*) men and women, they were subjects.

### *Jo sras* {3.1.11}

*'bangs sris*[128] *pa dgu la/ gnus*[129] *rje sris*[130] *pa/ stong rje glang pa/ lho rje gle ba / mtshims*[131] *brus pa nyag nyi phyag pa bra sa bskos pa khyegs gle ba shi'u chang pa so phye pa 'bangs rji*[132] *bdun la rgyal lo ngam rta rji*[133] *ltam po 'bri rji*[134] *ra ga ba rji*[135] *mkhar pa lug rji*[136] *'gos ra rji*[137] *bya khyi rdzi rngog phag rdzi'o 'bangs mkhan po drug la gar g.yo gar mkhan gar ru sga mkhan srags gzhu mkhan ra shags mda' mkhan bya nad*

[128] Read *srid*.
[129] Read *gnubs*.
[130] Read *srid*.
[131] Read *mchims*.
[132] Read *rdzi*.
[133] Read *rdzi*.
[134] Read *rdzi*.
[135] Read *rdzi*.
[136] Read *rdzi*.
[137] Read *rdzi*.

*khra mkhan tshong rji lham mkhan no 'bangs tshong pa lnga la brgya*[138] *byi'u 'tshong 'a zha 'od pa 'tshong gru gu g.yu 'tshong 'dan ma dar 'tshong glan tsha*[139] *'tshong pa'o 'bangs rgyal bzhi la nam pa sde rgyal bal po lang ling rgyal sum pa lcags rgyal mong rtse rgyal lo 'bangs mchin*[140] *gsum la/ gdags sra mchin*[141]*/ nyang po lcags mchin*[142]*/ grod bya mchin*[143]*no/ g.yung po mo*[144] *phyid*[145] *dang bco brgyad ni 'bangs yin no/* (*Jo sras*: 112-13).

### *Lde'u* {3.1.11}

The subject workers are the nine rulers (*srid-pa*), the seven herdsmen, the nine [sic] experts (*mkhan*), the five objects of trade (*tshong*), the four kings and the three ‘holders’ (*'dzin*).

Concerning the nine rulers, they are: [1] Snubs-rje Srid-pa, [2] Lho-rje Glang-pa, [3] Lho-rje Gling-pa, [4] 'Chims Srung-pa, [5] Nyag-nyi Phyag-pa, [6] Byang-nga Skos-pa, [7] Khyo-ne Spre'u-pa, [8] She'u Chang-pa and [9] So Phye-pa.

Concerning the seven herdsmen, they are: [1] Lo-ngam the horse herder (Rta-rdzi), [2] Ltam-pa the *'bri* herder, [3] Ra-ga the goat herder, [4] Mkhar-pa the sheep herder, [5] 'Gos the donkey herder, [6] Bya the dog herder, and [7] Rngog the pig herder.

Concerning the six experts, they are: [1] Kar-g.yo the dancer, [2] Gar-ru the saddle-maker, [3] Srags the bow-maker, [4] Ra-shags the arrow-smith, [5] Bya-ba the armour-maker and [6] Tshong-rtsi the image-maker (*lha-mkhan*).

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138 Read *rgya*.
139 Read *tshwa*.
140 Read *'dzin*.
141 Read *'dzin*.
142 Read *'dzin*.
143 Read *'dzin*.
144 Read *mi*.
145 Read *phyed*.

Concerning the five objects of trade (*tshong*), [1] China sold little birds, [2] the Turks sold turquoise, [3] 'A-zha sold knives, [4] Ldan-ma sold silk, and [5] Glan sold salt.

Concerning the four kings, they are: [1] Nam-sa Lde-rgyal, [2] Bal-po Lang-ling rgyal, [3] Sum-pa Lcags-rgyal and [4] Mon Rtse-rgyal.

Concerning the three 'holders' (*'dzin*), they are: [1] Bdags tent-holder [~nomad] (Sbra-'dzin), [2] Myang-po iron-holder (Lcags-'dzin) and [3] Grod bird-holder (Bya-'dzin).

In that way, though each acted as king, they united and submitted to the lord of Tibet and became subjects.

### ***Lde'u* {3.1.11}**

*'bangs las byed pa srid pa dgu/ rdzi bdun/ mkhan dgu/ tshong lnga/ rgyal bzhi/ 'dzin gsum mo/*

*srid pa dgu ni/ snubs rje srid pa/ lho rje glang pa/ lho rje gling pa/ 'chims srung pa/ nyag nyi phyag pa/ byang nga skos pa/ khyo ne spre'u pa/ she'u 'chang pa/ so phye pa'o/*

*rdzi bdun ni/ lo ngam rta rdzi/ ltam pa 'bri rdzi/ ra ga ra rdzi/ 'khar pa lug rdzi/ 'gos bong rdzi/ bya khyi rdzi/ rngog phag rdzi'o/*

*mkhan drug ni/ kar yo 'gar*[146] *mkhan/ gar ru sga mkhan/ srag gzhu mkhan/ ra shags mda' mkhan/ bya ba khrab mkhan/ tshong rtsi lha mkhan no/*

*tshong lnga ni/ rgya bye tshong / gru gu g.yu tshong / 'a zha gri tshong / ldan ma dar tshong / glan tshwa tshong no /*

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[146] Read *gar*.

*rgyal bzhi ni/ nam sa sde rgyal/ bal po lang ling rgyal/ sum pa lcags rgyal/ mon rtse gyal lo/*

*'dzin gsum ni/ bdags sbra 'dzin/ myang po lcags 'dzin/ grod bya 'dzin no/*

*de ltar so sor rgyal po byed kyang / bca' bsdus nas bod kyi rje la 'bul bas 'bangs su gtogs so/* (*Lde'u*: 273).

**KhG {3.1.11}**

Furthermore, the nine experts (*mkhan*)—Ga-rod Sga-mkhan and so forth, the seven herders (*rdzi*)—Lo-ngam Rta-dzi and so forth, the five objects of trade (*tshong-pa*)—tea trade with China and so forth and the three holders (*'dzin*)—Gdags Sbra-'dzin and so forth, were all differentiated into servants (*kheng*), servants' servants (*yang-kheng*) and subordinate servants (*nying-kheng*), and they satisfied all needs. Nam-pa Sde-rgyal, Bal-po Li-rgyal, Sum-pa Lcags-rgyal and Mon Rtse-rgyal—the four kings of the directions—were gathered as tributary [rulers], and offering [to the Tibetan ruler], they became subjects (*'bangs*).

**KhG {3.1.11}**

*de la yang snubs rje sris pa la sogs rje dgu/ lo ngam rta rdzi sogs rdzi bdun/ ga rod sga mkhan sogs mkhan drug/ rgya ja tshong pa la sogs tshong pa lnga/ gdags sbra 'dzin sogs 'dzin gsum ste 'di rnams kheng dang yang kheng dang nying kheng du phye bas dgos pa thams cad sgrub la/ nam pa sde rgyal/ bal po li rgyal/ sum pa lcags rgyal/ mon rtse rgyal zhes phyogs kyi rgyal po bzhis dpya bsdus nas 'bul bas 'bangs la gtogs so/* (*KhG*: 188-89; 20b, ll. 2-4).

## Analysis {3.1.11}

This is one of the more elusive catalogues in the *Section on Law and State*. The short introduction to the catalogue in both *KhG* and *Lde'u* suggests that the catalogue refers to civilian life, but what follows seems to be more of a hodge-podge of lists. The figures mentioned are all formulaic, so it is the structures themselves that must be considered.

Considering the catalogue itself, it is evident that *KhG*, though it gives only a summary, treats the four kings separately, unlike *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*, which incorporate this list into the catalogue.

Turning to the individual lists, that of the nine 'rulers' (*srid-pa*) is interesting for the fact that some of the place names that compose the names of these rulers are recognisable. The first in the list, Snubs-rje Srid-pa, is also found in Old Tibetan catalogues of principalities and in healing rituals as the ruler of the minor kingdom of Gnubs kyi Gling-dgu.[147] The second and third figures mentioned in the list, Lho-rje Glang-pa and Lho-rje Gling-pa, echo in the catalogue of principalities in PT 1060, which names Lord(s) Lho-rje Lang-ling as ruler(s) of Lho-ga Lang-drug (DOTSON 2003: 18). This demonstrates that the compiler(s) of this catalogue had access to older formulations of territory going back to the imperial period. Noting such connections, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 117) considers the 'nine rulers' to be akin to nine minor kings, and assumes that they enjoyed a semi-autonomous status in exchange for tax and tribute.

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[147] UEBACH (1989: 825) already made this identification in her treatment of the *SLS* in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u*. The catalogues of principalities *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286) and in PT 1290 both place Gnubs-rje'i Sris-pa in Gnubs gyi Gling-dgu. The 'catalogue of ritual antecedents' in IOL Tib J 734, a ritual text, places Gnubs-rje Sribs-pa in Gnubs-shul Kling-drug (DOTSON 2003: 15-16).

The next two figures in the list, 'Chims Srung-pa and Nyag-nyi Phyag-pa, are also plainly formulaic, but can be located spatially in Mchims and in Nyag-nyi, adjacent to Dags-po. [148] The final three figures in the list are unidentifiable at present.

Considering the generic nature of the personal names mentioned in the list, it is uncertain what the function of these nine ‘rulers’ might have been. Given that the first three people listed are taken from catalogues of minor kingdoms, it is possible that the ‘nine rulers’ played a role akin to that of the minor kings (*rgyal-phran*) during the imperial period, such as the lord of 'A-zha, Rkong-rje Dkar-po and Myang-btsun Khri-bo, whose realms enjoyed some limited autonomy from the Tibetan Empire.[149] In the case of the ‘nine rulers’, however, these would likely have been little more than glorified administrators, if indeed this structure did exist in imperial Tibet.

The next list, that of the seven subjects herdsmen (*rdzi*), is formulaic in the extreme, and gives only the clan name of each herder. If taken at face value, this might indicate that these clans were associated with the breeding and herding of particular animals, or served as pastoralist figureheads. There is little reason, however, to take the list at face value; one notes that in naming the first in the list, the horse herder, the compiler(s) could not refrain from naming Lo-ngam Rta-dzi, the famous opponent of Emperor Dri-gum Btsan-po. These may have been meant to indicate offices within the emperor’s court, with each of them responsible for breeding and supplying particular types of animals.

Like the seven herders, the six subject experts (*mkhan*), are all very generic, and the list, if taken at face value, likely indicate heads of guilds rather than specific

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[148] URAY (1988) treated the location of Nyag-nyi in some detail. YAMAGUCHI (1992: 77-79, n. 29) maintains that Nyag-nyi appears in the older sources not as a toponym, but as an epithet that may have later become a place name.
[149] These three minor kings are listed as signatories to Khri Lde-srong-btsan’s Skar-cung Edict in *KhG* (412).

individuals (GNYA'-GONG 2003: 226). Alternatively, this list, like that of the seven herders, might indicate offices within the imperial court. This is not dissimilar to the tradesmen responsible for supplying the Tang emperor and his inner circle with horse tack, clothing and other such amenities (DES ROTOURS 1947: 458-72).

*Jo sras* and *Lde'u* agree on the identities of the first four 'experts', but the last two differ: where *Jo sras* has Bya-nad the falconer, and Tshong-rdzi the cobbler, *Lde'u* names Bya-ba the armourer, and Tshong-rtsi the image-maker (*lha-mkhan*). Though falconer seems out of place in the list, it is unclear whether or not this is preferable to armourer. The confusion between cobbler (*lham-mkhan*) and image-maker (*lha-mkhan*) is due only to the suffix *m*, and is most likely down to a copying error. Nonetheless, it is difficult to judge with certainty that the former, in the context of other trades, is more fitting in this context than the latter.

The list of the five objects of trade is interesting, and it is here that *KhG* demonstrates its value. In its short summary, *KhG* mentions only the first figure in each list of the catalogue, and in this place it refers to the tea trade with China, which is far more useful than the statements in *Jo sras* and *Lde'u* claiming that China sold little birds. Surveying the rest of the list, Dru-gu usually refers to the Turks, and 'A-zha to the Tuyuhun. The object of sale of the latter, according to *Jo sras*, is the drainage ditch (*'od pa*). This could be an error for grain (*'ong*), clothing (*rod-pa*), horses or mules (*long-pa*), but rather than speculating on this matter, it is easier to follow *Lde'u*, which claims that the 'A-zha sold knives. The attribution of salt to a place called Glan is particularly interesting, as it offers a possible etymology of the common term for table salt (*lan-tshwa*) as deriving from a compound with a toponym, namely Glan (PANGLUNG 1992: 665).

The four subject kings are also very formulaic, and the names do not represent historical figures. Instead, this is related to the formula of the kings of the four directions mentioned above, who become beholden to the Tibetan ruler during the course of the empire's expansion. As mentioned above, *KhG* places this outside of the catalogue of subject labourers. *Lde'u* unwittingly confirms the logic of placing this list after the catalogue when it closes with the statement, 'In that way, though each acted as king, they united and submitted to the lord of Tibet and became subjects.' Following as it does the three 'holders' (*'dzin*) in *Lde'u*, this makes little sense.

Regarding the final list in this catalogue, the three 'holders', both *Lde'u* and *KhG* agree on the reading of this term as 'holder' (*'dzin*), while *Jo sras* opts for the puzzling group of 'three subject livers' (*mchin*). This seems to be yet another case where *Jo sras*' orthography is suspect, and best put aside.[150] The meaning of this list is uncertain, and I can offer little in the way of clarification on the roles of 'tent-holders', 'iron-holders' and 'bird-holders'. One name, however, Gdags Sbra-'dzin, appears to relate to the minor king of Dags-yul, who is listed in the catalogue of principalities in the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286) as Dags rgyal gyi Sprog-zin (*CD2*, pl. 554, ll. 18-19; *DTH*: 80, 84; LALOU 1965: 193; DOTSON 2003: 15). IOL Tib J 734, a ritual text, identifies the ruler of Dags-yul as Da-rgyal Sprog-zin (*AFL*: 94). As noted elsewhere, this links Da-rgyal with Dags-po, and confirms that Da-rgyal is the name of the royal line of Dags-po.

[150] Alternatively, *mchin* could be an error for *mched*, meaning 'brother' or 'relative'. This is partly supported by the presence of Gdags—probably an error for Dags-[po]—and Nyang-po, which are both mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* as relatives (*gnyen*) of Tibet (*DTH*: 111, 147). Further, according to the fragmentary beginning of the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), Dags-po was allied with the early royal line as one of the 'ancient affinal lineages of the four directions' (*gna' gnyen mtha' bzhi*) (*CD2*, pl. 554; RICHARDSON 1998 [1969a]: 28-29.

## {3.2} Outline of the Double Cycle of Ten Catalogues

### Introduction {3.2}

As mentioned above in the explanation of the composite outline of the *Section on Law and State*, I have subdivided part {3}, the contents section, into eight parts. The present section, {3.2}, outlines the double cycle of ten catalogues, while section {3.3} presents the contents of the double cycle of ten catalogues. Nearly all of the measures announced in this outline are detailed in the catalogues in {3.3}, but some are not, and these will receive attention in the analysis below.

### Translation and Transliteration {3.2}

***Lde'u* {3.2}**

{3.2} According to the source, he demonstrated the ten *tshan*, ten *sde* and so forth.

{3.2.1} As for the ten *tshan*, there were sixteen[151] administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*) in each of the horns of Tibet, and they carried out their duties. As for the ten [thousand-]districts ([*stong*-]*sde*), there were eight in each horn of Tibet, nine with the little thousand district, and ten with the royal guard regiment.

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[151] Here, as in many other sections, the number of units listed does not correspond with the number announced. This is a common feature of such lists, which often try to fit a large number of units into a pre-ordained structure. The classic example of this is the list of twelve minor kingdoms in PT 1286, which actually enumerates eighteen.

{3.2.2} As for the nine *bkra*, there are three *le-bkra*: [1] the nine *bkra* of existence/ politics (*srid-pa*); [2] the nine *bkra* of banquets; and [3] the nine *bkra* of wooden slips (*byang-bu*). Here, the nine *bkra* of wooden slips are expounded.

As for the nine great ones, they are the nine ministers who obtain insignia of rank.

{3.2.3} As for the eight *kha*, they are called the eight great markets (*khrom-kha*).

As for the eight profits (*khe*), the intermediate directions (*le-chung*), in addition to the four great directions (*la-sgo*), brought profit to all of Tibet, and so were called the eight profits.

Alternatively, the eight temples built by the eight great Tibetan generals to carry away (*khyer* for *kher*) all of their sins are called the eight *khe*.

{3.2.4} As for the seven great ones, Sbas Bye-can the elder (*gcen-pa*) was one, 'Bro Khram makes two, the younger brother (*gcung-pa*) 'Chims makes three, Sbrang G.yu-lung Ste-kyus-pa (lit. ‘hook-axe-man’) makes four, Cog-ro Khong-btsan makes five, Snubs Yar-yar makes six, and Myang Zhwa-bo-che makes seven.

As for the seven officials, they are: 1) local official (*yul-dpon*); 2) general (*dmag-dpon*); 3) district official (*sde-dpon*); 4) official who subdues the enemies; 5) stable-master (*chibs-dpon*); 6) revenue official (*rngan-dpon*); and 7) livestock official (*phru-dpon*).

{3.2.5} As for the six *na*, they are the six great insignia: large and small turquoise insignia, large and small gold insignia, and large and small silver-gilt insignia.

The six 6 *ne* are the six small insignia: silver insignia, brass insignia, bronze insignia, copper insignia, noble iron insignia, and wavy pale wood insignia.

{3.2.6} The five authorities (*bla*) are: the ruler, the king, authority of the subjects; the justice, authority of politics (*srid*); the high minister, authority of power; the minister of the interior, authority of finance (*rtsis*); the lower district official, the authority of repairing dangerous roads (*ma yul dpon te 'phreng gzo'i bla*).[152]

As for the five *na*, they are: the five stages in a lawsuit (*zhal-che*), the five types of heroes, the five types of soldiers (*rgod*), the five types of messengers, and the five types of law.

{3.2.7} As for the four orders (*bka'*), they are: the white lion of the east that will not be chained, the black bear (*dom-sgrol*) of the south whose mouth will not open, the red bird of the west whose neck will not be cut, and the red road of the north that will not be marked.

The four accounts are: the accounting of fees with pebbles, accounting of religious estates,[153] accounting of bodyguards, and accounting of aristocracy (*sku-rgyal*).

{3.2.8} The three regions are: the three upper regions, three lower regions and three central regions. Alternately, they are Mdo-khams, Bde-khams and Tsong-khams.

The three customs (*chos*) are: customs of speech (*bka'-chos*), customs of melody (*dbyangs-chos*) and customs of accounting (*rtsis-chos*).

{3.2.9} The body [of the emperor] and the polity (*chab-srid*) are called 'the pair'. {3.2.10} Condensed into one, they are gathered under the dominion of the ruler, the king.

[152] This reading is supported by the catalogue, which reads *ma yul dpon te 'phreng gzo'i bla*.
[153] The corresponding catalogue at {3.3.7b} reads *lha-ris* instead of *lha-rin*, which makes more sense in this context.

***Lde'u* {3.2}**

*gzhung las tshan bcu dang ni sde bcu dang / zhes pa la sogs pas ston/ de la tshan bcu ni bod ru re re la yul dpon tshan bcu drug bcu drug yod pa la bya/ sde bcu ni bod ru re re la sde brgyad brgyad/ stong bu chung dang dgu/ sku srung re re dang bcu'o/ bkra dgu ni le bkra la gsum ste/ srid pa dgu bkra/ ston mo dgu bkra/ byang bu dgu bkra'o/ 'dir ni byang bu dgu bkra ston/ che dgu ni yig tshang thob pa'i blon po dgu'o/ kha brgyad ni khrom kha chen po brgyad la bya'o/ khe brgyad ni la sgo chen po bzhi la/ le chung bzhi btags pa la bod thams cad khe la rgyug pas khe brgyad ces so/*

*yang na bod kyi dmag dpon chen po brgyad kyis gtsug lag khang brgyad brtsigs pas sdig pa thams cad kher bas khe brgyad ces bya'o/*

*che bdun ni sbas bye can gcen pa dang gcig 'bro kham dang gnyis/ gcung pa 'chims dang gsum/ sbrang g.yu lung ste kyus pa dang bzhi/ cog ro khong btsan dang lnga/ snubs yar yar dang drug myang zhwa bo che dang bdun no/*

*dpon bdun ni yul dpon dang gcig dmag dpon dang gnyis/ sde dpon dang gsum/ dgra 'dul ba'i dpon dang bzhi/ chibs dpon dang lnga/ rngan dpon dang drug phru dpon dang bdun no/*

*na drug ni yi ge che ba drug ste/ g.yu'i gyi ge che chung gnyis/ gser yig che chung gnyis/ 'phra men gyi yi ge che chung gnyis so/*

*ne drug ni yi ge chung ba drug ste/ dngul gyi yi ge dang / ra gan gyi yi ge dang / 'khar ba'i yi ge dang / zangs kyi yi ge dang / dpal lcags kyi yi ge dang / shing skya chu ris kyi ye ge dang drug go/*

*[bla lnga ni]*[154] *sa bdag rgyal po 'bangs kyi bla/ yo 'gal 'chos pa srid kyi bla/ gung blon dbang gi bla/ nang blon rtsis kyi bla/ mar*[155] *yul son*[156] *re 'phreng gzo'i bla'o/*

*na lnga ni zhal che sna lnga/ dpa' sna lnga/ rgod sna lnga/ mgyogs sna lnga/ khrims sna lnga/*

*bka' bzhi ni shar phyogs seng ge dkar mo lcags thag la mi gdags/ lho dom sgrol nag po kha mi dbye/ nub bya dmar mo ske mi gcod/ byang phyogs byang lam dmar po la thig mi gdab bo/*

*rtsis bzhi la rde'u rin*[157] *gyi rtsis/ lha rin*[158] *gyi rtsis/ sku srung gi rtsis/ sku rgyal gyi rtsis so/*

*khams gsum ni/ stod khams gsum/ smad khams gsum/ dbus khams gsum mo/ yang na mdo khams/ bde khams/ tsong khams so/*

*chos gsum ni/ bka' chos/ dbyang*[159] *chos/ rtsis chos so/*

*gnyis kar zhes pa sku dang chab srid do/ gcig tu bsdu ba ni sa bdag rgyal po'i mnga' 'og tu 'du ba'o/* (*Lde'u*: 255-56).

## Analysis {3.2}

Since most of these measures outlined above are enumerated in detail in the catalogues, their contents will be analysed in some detail at {3.3}. A few of the

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[154] Inserted by the editors.
[155] Read *ma*.
[156] Read *dpon*.
[157] The *n* is late addition, added perhaps by the editors. The original letter is impossible to determine.
[158] Read *ris*.
[159] Read *dbyangs*.

measures announced in the outline, however, have no corresponding catalogue in {3.3}, and will therefore be analysed here.

The catalogue opens with the words, 'according to the source', (*gzhung las*) implying that the double cycle of ten catalogues is not the creation of *Lde'u*, but the faithful rendering of a pre-existing tradition. The possible nature of this 'source' has already been discussed in the general introduction.

The ten *tshan* and ten *sde* are fully detailed in the catalogues, but at {3.2.2} the outline announces three types of *bkra*, only one of which, the '*bkra* of wooden slips' (*byang-bu bkra*) is detailed in a catalogue. All three are referred to as the *le-bkra*, a term that so far resists translation.[160] The first two *bkra* are the nine *bkra* of existence/politics (*srid-pa*) and the nine *bkra* of banquets. Given that the catalogue of the third *bkra*, that of wooden slips, details the proper procedure in legal cases, it is hard to see how these three imperial structures, all designated *bkra*, are related. Considering the nine *bkra* of existence/politics (*srid-pa*), it is possible that it bears some relation to the nine subject rulers (*sris-pa*) catalogued in {3.1.11}. One can only speculate that the nine *bkra* of banquets sets out the elaborate protocols for royal banquets.

The catalogues cover all of those measures announced at {3.2.3}. The seven great ones listed in {3.2.4} do not correspond exactly to the subsequent catalogue, which in fact names the nine great ones, a structure already catalogued at {3.1.7}. There is enough overlap, however, to leave a discussion of their divergences for the analysis of the catalogue at {3.3.4a}. The second part of this measure, the seven officials, is catalogued in detail.

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[160] The word *bkra* means 'variegated' or 'beautiful' (JÄSCHKE 1998 [1881]: 14-15), neither of which suffice in the present context, where *bkra* is used to describe specific administrative measures.

Those measures introduced at {3.2.5} are also covered in detail in the corresponding catalogues. All of the measures named at {3.2.6} are detailed in the corresponding catalogues, with the exception of the five types of messengers. This same catalogue is announced, however, in the *La dwags rgyal rabs* (27), which states, 'the five types of messengers galloped forth on horseback' (*mgyogs sna lngas mchibs mdzad nas rgyugs su spro*[161]/). This, however, offers little if any insight into what the five different types of messengers might be. As both MACDONALD (1971: 325) and STEIN (1984: 263-64) have demonstrated, a difficult passage in PT 1290, an intriguing, but fragmentary Old Tibetan document, concerns the proper conduct of messengers (*pho-nya*) and the types of seals that they employ. Further, another Dunhuang document, IOL Tib J 740, includes a clause dealing with the punishment of a messenger who has lost or damaged the goods entrusted to him (DOTSON *forthcoming b*). From that clause and from the passage in PT 1290, it is evident that the Tibetan Empire operated a sophisticated system for relaying both information and goods.

The final four measures in the outline are essentially repeated verbatim in the catalogues with little elaboration.

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[161] *Spro* is inserted by the editor, Chos-'dzoms. Cf. FRANCKE 1926: 29, 77.

## {3.3} Contents of the Double Cycle of Ten Catalogues

### Introduction {3.3}

What follow are the contents of the double cycle of ten catalogues announced at {3.2}. As mentioned in the composite outline, these measures constitute the bulk of the *Section on Law and State*, but their arrangement as a double cycle of ten catalogues is unique to *Lde'u*. Each of these catalogues will be considered in turn.

The first measures catalogued are the ten *tshan* and the ten *sde*, which correspond to the 'administrative districts' (*yul-dpon-tshan*) and the thousand-districts (*stong-sde*). These are considered here in in some detail in relation to the historical geography of imperial Tibet. *GK* also contains a catalogue of administrative districts, and *BK* contains a catalogue of thousand-districts, and these will be presented here as well. As is the case with many others, these catalogues are no more than lists. Therefore they are translated into tables for ease of presentation.

### Translation and Transliteration {3.3.1a}: the Ten *Tshan*

**_Lde'u_ {3.3.1a}**

{3.3} To explain this in detail, {3.3.1a} the ten *tshan* are as follows: there are sixteen 'administrative districts' (*yul-dpon-tshan*) in each horn of Tibet.

Table 37: The Sixteen Administrative Districts of Branch Horn (Ru-lag).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-yul |
| 2 | Snye-nam |
| 3 | Dpal-chad |
| 4 | Drangs-so |
| 5 | Grom-lung |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6 | Shab lung-pa |
| 7 | Srad lung-pa |
| 8 | Myang-mda' lung-pa |
| 9 | Khri-thang-pa |
| 10 | Thang-'brang |
| 11 | Nul-po |
| 12 | G.yu lung-pa |
| 13 | Dung lung-pa |
| 14 | Myang-stod-pa |
| 15 | Gad-sram lung-pa |
| 16 | Spa-rongs |

Table 38: The Sixteen Administrative Districts of Right Horn (G.yas-ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Byang-phug |
| 2 | Zang-zang |
| 3 | Zangs-dkar |
| 4 | Dung lung-pa |
| 5 | Gdeg lung-pa |
| 6 | Bgyid lung-pa |
| 7 | Bshag lung-pa |
| 8 | 'Byad lung-pa |
| 9 | Rta-nag lung-pa |
| 10 | Zhan-thag |
| 11 | Mtsho-nyang |
| 12 | Rta-nu |
| 13 | Gtsang-shod |
| 14 | 'O-yug |
| 15 | Nye-mo |
| 16 | Dgra-yag |

Table 39: The Sixteen Administrative Districts Central Horn (Dbu-ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Stod-lung |
| 2 | 'Phags-rgyal |
| 3 | Klung-shod |
| 4 | Mal-gro |
| 5 | 'Dam-shod |
| 6 | Za-gad |
| 7 | Ragsha |
| 8 | Ba-lam |
| 9 | Ngan-lam |
| 10 | Brang-yul |
| 11 | Dbul-sde |
| 12 | Gzad Chu-shul |
| 13 | 'Phrang-po |
| 14 | Gnon lung-pa |
| 15 | Gsang |

| | |
|---|---|
| 16 | Brag-rum |
| 17 | 'Phan-yul |

Table 40: The Sixteen Administrative Districts of Left Horn (G.yu-ru).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Nga-rabs |
| 2 | Gung-po |
| 3 | Gang-bar |
| 4 | Yar-mda' |
| 5 | 'Chings-lung |
| 6 | Greng-nga |
| 7 | Rog-pa |
| 8 | Lo-ro |
| 9 | Ban-pa |
| 10 | Stam-shul |
| 11 | Kho-mthing |
| 12 | Brag-lung |
| 13 | Dol and Gzhung, the two |
| 14 | Gra lung-pa |
| 15 | Khab-so |
| 16 | Ya-'brog Rnam-gsum |

### *Lde'u* {3.3.1a}

*rgyas par bshad pa la tshan bcu ni bod ru re re na/ yul dpon bcu drug bcu drug yod pa ni/ ru lag gi yul dpon tshan bcu drug la/ mang yul la yul dpon tshan gcig*

*snye nam la gcig dpa'*[162] *chad la gcig grom lung la gcig shab lung pa la gcig srad lung pa la gcig myang mda' lung pa la gcig khri thang pa gcig*

*thang 'brang la gcig nul po la gcig g.yu lung pa la gcig dung lung pa la gcig myang stod pa la gcig gad sram lung pa la gcig sba rongs la yul dpon tshan gcig ste bcu drug go/*

*g.yas ru'i yul dpon tshan bcu drug la/ byang phug la yul dpon tshan gcig*

*zang zang la tshan gcig zangs dkar la gcig dung lung pa la gcig*

*gdeg lung pa la gcig bgyid lung pa la gcig gshag lung pa la gcig 'byad lung pa la gcig rta nag lung pa la gcig zhan thag la gcig mtsho nyang la*

[162] Read *dpal*.

*gcig rta nu la gcig gtsang shod la gcig 'o yug la gcig snye mo la gcig dgra yag la gcig ste bcu drug go/*

*dbu ru'i yul dpon tshan bcu drug la/ stod lung la yul dpon gcig 'phags rgyal la gcig klung shod la gcig mal gro la gcig 'dam shod la gcig za gad la gcig ragsha la gcig ba lam la gcig ngan lam la gcig brang yul la gcig dbul sde la gcig gzad chu shul la gcig 'phrang po la gcig gnon lung pa la gcig gsang la gcig brag rum la gcig 'phan yul la gcig ste bcu drug go/*[163]

*g.yu ru'i yul dpon tshan bcu drug la/ nga rabs la yul dpon tshan gcig gung po la gcig gang bar la gcig yar mda' la gcig 'chings lung la gcig greng nga la gcig rog pa la gcig lo ro la gcig ban pa la gcig stam shul la gcig kho mthing la gcig brag lung la gcig dol gzhung gnyis la gcig gra lung pa la gcig khab so la gcig ya 'brog rnam gsum la gcig ste yul dpon tshan bcu drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 256-58).

### *GK* {3.3.1a}

An enumeration of the territories of the four horns—Central Horn, Left Horn, Right Horn and Branch Horn. In the cultivated areas of Right Horn, there are sixteen districts (*yul-sde*).

Table 41: The Sixteen Districts (*yul-sde*) of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Byang-phugs |
| 2 | Tre-shod |
| 3 | Zang-zang |
| 4 | Stag-sde |
| 5 | Stag-ris |
| 6 | Mus-ldog |
| 7 | 'Jad |
| 8 | Rta-nag |

[163] Inserted by the editor: 'one extra' (*gcig lhag*).

| | |
|---|---|
| 9 | Zhan-thag |
| 10 | Shangs |
| 11 | Mon-mkhar |
| 12 | Ge-re |
| 13 | Lang-'gro |
| 14 | Spa-gor |
| 15 | Tshur-zho |
| 16 | Snye-mo |

Those are the sixteen districts of Right Horn.

When the interior ministers were enumerating the sixteen districts (*yul-gru*) of Branch Horn Left Horn (G.yon-ru Ru-lag), they were:

Table 42: The Sixteen Districts (*yul-sde*) of Branch Horn Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dpal-ma |
| 2 | Chad-lung |
| 3 | Ding-ri |
| 4 | Sri-yul |
| 5 | Mnga'-ris |
| 6 | Pa-drug |
| 7 | 'Bri-mtshams |
| 8 | Sras kyi yul |
| 9 | Kram-lung |
| 10 | Shab-lung |
| 11 | Nyang-ro |
| 12 | Nyang-stod |
| 13 | Gtsang-bzhi |
| 14 | Ri-bo |

Table 43: The Sixteen Districts (*yul-gru*) of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Stod-lung |
| 2 | Phar-kyang |
| 3 | Klung-shod |
| 4 | Mal-gro |
| 5 | 'Dam |
| 6 | Ba-lam |
| 7 | Ngan-lam |
| 8 | Rag-nas |
| 9 | 'Breng |
| 10 | G.yu-khung |
| 11 | Dbu sa-skor |
| 12 | Gzhol-klungs |
| 13 | 'Phan-yul |
| 14 | Rong-shod |

| | |
|---|---|
| 15 | Bra-rnams |

Table 44: The Sixteen Districts (*yul-gru*) of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dwags-po |
| 2 | Nga-rab |
| 3 | Gung-po |
| 4 | Yar-klungs |
| 5 | 'Grangs-te |
| 6 | Gnyal |
| 7 | Lo-ro |
| 8 | 'Khag-pa |
| 9 | Rtam-shul |
| 10 | Gra-lung |
| 11 | Dol-gzhung |
| 12 | Yar-'brog |

And so forth.

***GK* {3.3.1a}**

*bod khams ru bzhi yul gyi grangs btab pa: dbu ru g.yas ru g.yon ru ru lag bzhi: g.yas ru'i klungs la yul sde bcu drug yod: byang phugs tre shod zang zang stag sde dang: stag ris mus ldog 'jad dang sta nag dang: zhan thag shangs dang mon mkhar ge re dang: lang 'gro spa gor tshur zho snye mo bcas: de rnams g.yas ru'i yul sde bcu drug yin: nang blon rnams kyis grangs su btab pa'i dus: g.yon ru ru lag yul gru bcu drug la: dpal ma chad lung ding ri sri yul dang: mnga' ris pha drug 'bri mtshams sras kyi yul: kram lung shab lung nyang ro nyang stod dang: gtsang bzhi ri bo yul gru bcu drug yin: dbu ru'i yul gru bcu drug 'di lta ste: stod lung phar kyang klung shod mal gro 'dam dang ba lam dang: ngan lam rag nas 'breng dang g.yu khung dbus skor: gzhol skungs 'phan yul rong shod phra rnams bcu drug yin: g.yon ru'i yul gru bcu drug 'di ltar ro: dwags po nga rab gung po yar klungs dang: 'grangs te gnyal lo ro dang 'khag pa dang: rtam shul gra lung dol gzhung dang/ yar 'brog la*

*sogs bcu drug ming du btags:* (*GK*: 185; CHANDRA 1982: 232-33; *kha*, 64b, l. 5-65a, l. 4).

## Analysis {3.3.1a}

The administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*; literally, 'section of the local official') are presented as territorial units that are separate from the thousand-districts, but the initial reference to them as the 'ten *tshan*' causes some confusion, since during the imperial period *tshan* were small units within the thousand-districts. UEBACH (1994) compared the *yul-dpon-tshan* with the imperial *tshan* units, and it is evident from her work that the *tshan* in this catalogue refer to an entirely different structure than the imperial *tshan*. The latter are divided into two main types: the 'standard *tshan*,' unit of fifty households corresponding to the Chinese *jiang* 將, and the 'compound *tshan*,' such as the 'group of ten' (*bcu-tshan*), 'tally group' (*khram-tshan*), 'group of one hundred' (*brgya-tshan*), *dog-tshan* and *dar-tshan*, which were made up of various numbers to perform specific tasks (TAKEUCHI 1994: 855). The administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*/ *yul-sde*), however, seem to bear no relation to either type of *tshan* unit, and UEBACH (1994: 999-1001) posits that the *yul-dpon-tshan* in the *SLS* were units of five hundred households comprising one half of a thousand-district.

As will be evident from the following tables, the tradition of administrative districts preserved in *Lde'u* differs somewhat from that preserved in *GK* (185), and their compilers were likely not working from the same source material (UEBACH 1994: 999). UEBACH (1994: 1001-02) made similar tables comparing these two

traditions, though our readings differ slightly. UEBACH (1994: 1001-02) also noted an important gloss by U-rgyan Gling-pa in *GK* that comes to bear on the source value of this particular section on the text: it states that chapters sixteen and seventeen were copied faithfully from an ‘old original written with a metal pen’ (*dpe rnying lcags smyug gis bris pa zhig la le'u 'di dang bcu bdun pa gnyis 'dug pa ltar bris*) (*GK*: 183).

In the tables below, the order of *GK* has been changed in order to highlight correspondence with *Lde'u*. The original order is given in parantheses.

Table 45: The Administrative Districts (*yul-dpon-tshan/ yul-sde*) of Branch Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***GK*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-yul | Ding-ri (3) |
| 2 | Snye-nam | Sri-yul (4) |
| 3 | Dpal-chad | Dpal-ma (1) |
| 4 | Drangs-so | Chad-lung (2) |
| 5 | Grom-lung | Kram-lung (9) |
| 6 | Shab lung-pa | Shab-lung (10) |
| 7 | Srad lung-pa | Sras kyi yul (8) |
| 8 | Myang-mda' lung-pa | 'Bri-mtshams (7) |
| 9 | Khri-thang-pa | Mnga'-ris (5) |
| 10 | Thang-'brang | Pa-drug (6) |
| 11 | Nul-po | Gtsang-bzhi (13) |
| 12 | G.yu lung-pa | Ri-bo (14) |
| 13 | Dung lung-pa | Nyang-ro (11) |
| 14 | Myang-stod-pa | Nyang-stod (12) |
| 15 | Gad-sram lung-pa | |
| 16 | Spa-rongs | |

The original order in *GK* lists Right Horn before Branch Horn, but this has been altered to fit the structure of *Lde'u*. *GK* refers to Branch Horn as ‘Left Horn Branch Horn’ (*g.yon-ru ru-lag*). This may be intended to designate it as ‘Branch Horn of Left Horn’, though one should not read too much into this. The list is introduced with the phrase, ‘when the interior ministers were enumerating the sixteen districts (*yul-gru*) of Branch Horn Left Horn, they were...’ (*nang blon rnams kyis grangs su gtab pa'i dus/ g.yon ru ru lag yul gru bcu drug la/*) (*GK*: 185).

Many of these districts can be located. Ding-ri, Mang-yul, Srad Valley, Shab Valley, Myang-mda' and Myang-stod are all well-attested toponyms in Gtsang. The latter two are to be found in modern Pa-snam County (DORJE 1999: 262). The Shab River Valley is north of the Srad Valley in modern Sa-skya County, (DORJE 1999: 280). Ding-ri, included only in *GK*, seems to be at the far-western reaches of Branch Horn. *GK*'s mention of Mnga'-ris, much further to the west in what was then Zhang-zhung, is perplexing, as is the toponym 'Four Gtsangs' (Gtsang-bzhi).

The concordance between the two catalogues is minimal, but to the obvious correspondences we can add that Dpal-chad in *Lde'u* is a contraction of *GK*'s Dpal-ma and Chad-lung.

Table 46: The Administrative Districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*/ *yul-sde*) of Right Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***GK*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Byang-phug | Byang-phugs |
| 2 | Zang-zang | Zang-zang (3) |
| 3 | Zangs-dkar | Tre-shod (2) |
| 4 | Dung lung-pa | Stag-sde |
| 5 | Gdeg lung-pa | Stag-ris |
| 6 | Bgyid lung-pa | Mus-ldog |
| 7 | Bshag lung-pa | 'Jad |
| 8 | 'Byad lung-pa | Shangs (10) |
| 9 | Rta-nag lung-pa | Rta-nag (8) |
| 10 | Zhan-thag | Zhan-thag (9) |
| 11 | Mtsho-nyang | Mon-mkhar |
| 12 | Rta-nu | Ge-re |
| 13 | Gtsang-shod | Lang-'gro |
| 14 | 'O-yug | Spa-gor |
| 15 | Nye-mo | Snye-mo (16) |
| 16 | Dgra-yag | Tshur-zho (15) |

Just as *GK*'s introduction to the districts (*yul-gru*) of 'Left Horn Branch Horn' offers some insight into the nature of these administrative districts, so the introduction to those of Right Horn opens, 'in the cultivated valleys of Left Horn...' (*g.yas ru'i klungs la*) (*GK*: 185). This would seem to define the 'administrative districts' (*yul-*

*sde*/ *yul-dpon-tshan*) as agricultural areas under the immediate jurisdiction of their respective local officials (*yul-dpon*), and overseen by the ministers of the interior.

Some of the administrative districts of Right Horn can be located, which is particularly useful given the obscurity of the places listed as thousand-districts in Right Horn. Their locations confirm the supposition that Right Horn lies generally on the northern side of the Gtsang-po, while Branch Horn lies to the south. It covers a wide area from west to east. Among the easternmost territories listed is Snye-mo, which corresponds to the Snye-mo River Valley in modern Snye-mo County (DORJE 1999: 246). 'O-yug lies to the Southwest of Snye-mo in the 'O-yug Valley in modern Rnam-gling County (DORJE 1999: 247). Zang-zang, on the other hand, is located near the border of Gtsang and Western Tibet in modern Ngam-ring County (DORJE 1999: 309). Zangs-dkar, if taken to indicate Zangskar in modern Jammu and Kashmir, would stretch Right Horn very far to the West, but this seems unlikely. Among the other identifiable toponyms, the Rta-nag Valley corresponds to the Rta-nag River Valley north of the Gtsang-po in Gzhad-mthong-smon County (DORJE 1999: 277). *GK* also names Shangs, which should correspond to Shangs River Valley on the north side of the Gtsang-po, also in modern Rnam-gling County (DORJE 1999: 250), and Spa-gor, which lies just to the northwest of Snye-mo.

Table 47: The Administrative Districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*/ *yul-sde*) of Central Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***GK*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stod-lung | Stod-lung |
| 2 | 'Phags-rgyal | Phar-kyang |
| 3 | Klung-shod | Klung-shod |
| 4 | Mal-gro | Mal-gro |
| 5 | 'Dam-shod | 'Dam |
| 6 | Za-gad | G.yu-khung (10) |
| 7 | Ragsha | Rag-nas (8) |
| 8 | Ba-lam | Ba-lam (6) |
| 9 | Ngan-lam | Ngan-lam (7) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | Brang-yul | 'Breng (9) |
| 11 | Dbul-sde | Dbu sa-skor |
| 12 | Gzad Chu-shul | Gzhol-klungs |
| 13 | 'Phrang-po | |
| 14 | Gnon lung-pa | Rong-shod (14) |
| 15 | Gsang | |
| 16 | Brag-rum | Bra-rnams (15) |
| 17 | 'Phan-yul | 'Phan-yul (13) |

The correspondence of the two catalogues is far higher in Central Horn than in any other area. Several of the administrative districts of Central Horn have been located by HAZOD (2003, *forthcoming*) in his excellent work on the historical geography of this area. Many of these toponyms, such as Stod-lung, Mal-gro and 'Phan-yul, are very well-known. HAZOD (2003) locates the majority of these administrative districts explicitly in his map. Most are located in the heartland of Central Tibet, though some districts reveal the geographical extent of Central Horn. 'Dam-shod, for example, is likely found on the 'Dam River in modern 'Dam-gzhung County, which places it northeast of Mt. Gnyan-chen Thang-lha. It is probably one of the northernmost districts in Central Horn. Likewise, the district of Stod-lung lies in the far west of Central Horn, while Mal-gro lies in the far east. Gzad Chu-shul, in Modern Chu-shul County, seems to be the southwesternmost district. The southernmost extent of Central Horn is a bit more mysterious than originally thought, as two of the administrative districts seem to lie to the south of the ‘low mountain range’ (Dma'-la La-brgyud) that separates Central Horn from Left Horn (*supra*, {3.1.1}). These are 'Phrang-po, located not far north of the airport in modern Gong-dkar County (HAZOD 2003), and Brag-rum, which might be located near Sgrags, to the northeast of 'Phrang-po. The location of the latter, however, is uncertain.

Regarding the locations of some of the other administrative districts, HAZOD (*forthcoming*) suggests that Za-gad, located near 'Phan-yul, may be a contraction of

the names of two neighbouring places in western 'Phan-yul: Za-dam and Gad-po. Ngan-lam is located north of Za-gad, across the 'Phan-po River, and is probably the ancestral home of the Ngan-lam clan. To the south of 'Phan-yul, Ba-lam is one of the only districts that appears on the south side of the Skyid-chu River. Gsang, however, may correspond to Gsang-phu, which is also on the south side of the Skyid-chu, east of Snye-thang (HAZOD 2003). Gnon Valley is apparently to be found in Mal-gro, near Rgya-ma (HAZOD 2003). This may also correspond to the native homeland of the Gnon/ Snon clan, who, together with the Myang, Dba's and Tshes-pong clans, joined forces with Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan to conquer Ngas-po/ 'Phan-yul. The locations of 'Phags-rgyal, Ragsha, Brang-yul and Dbul-sde are less certain. HAZOD (2003) tentatively suggests that the former is to be found in the 'Phags-chu area of Byang, to the north of 'Phan-yul, and states that Ragsha may relate to Rag, located east of Lhasa. Brang-yul and Dbul-sde have not been located.

Table 48: The Administrative Districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*/ *yul-sde*) of Left Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***GK*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Nga-rabs | Nga-rab (2) |
| 2 | Gung-po | Gung-po (3) |
| 3 | Gang-bar | Dwags-po (1) |
| 4 | Yar-mda' | Yar-klungs |
| 5 | 'Chings-lung | |
| 6 | Greng-nga | 'Grangs-te (5) |
| 7 | Rog-pa | Gnyal (6) |
| 8 | Lo-ro | Lo-ro (7) |
| 9 | Ban-pa | 'Khag-pa (8) |
| 10 | Stam-shul | Rtam-shul (9) |
| 11 | Kho-mthing | |
| 12 | Brag-lung | |
| 13 | Dol and Gzhung, the two | Dol-gzhung (11) |
| 14 | Gra lung-pa | Gra-lung (10) |
| 15 | Khab-so | |
| 16 | Ya-'brog rnam-gsum | Yar-'brog (12) |

*GK*'s list is unfinished, and ends with the phrase, 'and so forth' (*GK*: 185). Most of the administrative districts of Left Horn were identified by GYALBO *et al*. (2000: 239-240), and are shown in an excellent map of Left Horn that also locates thousand-districts. Some of these areas, such as Yar-mda' (lower Yar), 'Chings-lung (Phying-ba), Lo-ro, Stam-shul, Gra-lung (in Grwa-thang) and Yar-'brog, are well-known. Among the lesser known areas, Gang-'bar in G.ye, near Chu-gsum, Rog-pa is in Upper Yar-lung, near Thang-po-che, Kho-mthing is in southern Lho-brag and Dol and Gzhung/ Dol-gzhung is located in Dol, west of Grwa-nang (GYALBO *et al*. 2000: 239-240). Less certain are the respective locations of Nga-rabs to the west of Mt. Dwags-la Sgam-po, Gung-po in Upper and lower Gong, just north of the administrative district of Gang-'bar, Greng-nga in Upper Yar and Ban-pa in Lho-brag, northeast of Kho-mthing (GYALBO *et al*. 2000: 239-240). Two administrative districts, Brag-lung and Khab-so, have not been located. Khab-so is a rather generic name, and the Old Tibetan term *khab-so* indicates 'revenue office'. The administrative district of Khab-so may have indicated the area that held the regional revenue office, in which case the name may have fallen into disuse after the collapse of the empire.

This investigation of the lists of administrative districts in the four horns of Tibet reveals that whether or not they constituted units of five hundred households subordinate to the thousand-districts, as UEBACH (1994: 999-1001) proposes, the districts were located in agricultural areas, and were administered by local officials (*yul-dpon*) and interior ministers (*nang-blon*). The discussion of the administrative districts' locations refines our notions of the historical geography and the boundaries of the four horns. This will be further elucidated through an examination of the thousand-districts of Tibet.

Regarding the dates of these catalogues, the passage immediately preceding this catalogue in *GK* relates to a tradition of thousand-districts that dates to the latter half of the seventh century (*infra*, {3.3.1b}). *Lde'u*'s catalogue, on the other hand, is followed by catalogues of thousand-districts that pertain to the mid-eighth century. As noted in the introduction, however, the *SLS* is a composite document, and it is not advisable to date a passage based on those that precede or follow. The two catalogues here obviously describe separate periods, as their divergences cannot be explained as simply a matter of variant orthographies.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.1b}: the Ten *Sde*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.1b}

As for the ten *sde*, there are eight thousand-districts (*stong-sde*) in each horn of Tibet, nine with the little thousand-district (*stong bu-chung*), and ten in all with the royal guard regiment.

Table 49: The Thousand-Districts of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-dkar |
| 2 | Khri-bom |
| 3 | Sgrom-pa |
| 4 | Lha-rtse |
| 5 | Myang-ro |
| 6 | Khri-thang |
| 7 | Mkhar-gsar |
| 8 | Gad-sram |
| 9 | Mtsho-ngam (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Southern royal guard |

Table 50: The Thousand-Districts of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Lho-yo |
| 2 | Shangs |

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 | Lang-mi |
| 4 | Phod-dkar |
| 5 | Nyen-mkhar |
| 6 | 'Grang-rtsang |
| 7 | Yo-rabs |
| 8 | Gzong-sde |
| 9 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Western royal guard |

Table 51: The Thousand-Districts of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dor-ste |
| 2 | Sde-mtshams |
| 3 | Phyug-'tshams |
| 4 | 'Grangs-'tshams |
| 5 | Gcong-pa |
| 6 | 'Bring-'tshams |
| 7 | Kyi-stod |
| 8 | Kyi-smad |
| 9 | Yel-rabs (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Eastern royal guard |

Table 52: The Thousand-Districts of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Yar-lung |
| 2 | 'Ching-lung |
| 3 | Yar-rgyang |
| 4 | Yung-nga |
| 5 | Dwags-po |
| 6 | Myag-myi |
| 7 | Dmyal |
| 8 | Lho-brag |
| 9 | Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Eastern royal guard |

Those are the forty thousand-districts of the four horns of Tibet.

On the border of Tibet and Gru-gu are the five thousand-districts of Upper Zhang-Zhung:

Table 53: The Five Thousand-Districts of Upper Zhang-zhung.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 'O-co-bag |
| 2 | Mang-ma-bag |
| 3 | Gnye-ma-bag |
| 4 | Rtsa-mo-bag |
| 5 | Ba-ga (*stong bu chung*) |

On the borders of Tibet and Sum-pa are the five thousand-districts of Lower Zhang-zhung:

Table 54: The Five Thousand-Districts of Lower Zhang-zhung.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Gug-ge |
| 2 | Gu-cog |
| 3 | Spyir-rtsang |
| 4 | Yar-rtsang |
| 5 | Spyi-ti (*stong bu chung*) |

The 'ten-thousand-district' of Zhang-zhung is composed of the ten upper and lower thousand-districts.

Generally, the thousand-districts of Sum-pa are called the 'eleven *Ltong-khyab* thousand-districts full of Chinese' (*Ltong-khyab rgya-ldan gyi stong-sde*). Among them, Srong-btsan Sgam-po annexed eleven.

Table 55: The Eleven *Ltong-khyab* Thousand-Districts of Sum-pa's Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Rtse-mthon |
| 2 | Yo-mthon |
| 3 | Rgod-tshang stod |
| 4 | Rgod-tshang smad |
| 5 | 'Dzom-stod |
| 6 | 'Dzom-smad |
| 7 | Hre-stod |
| 8 | Hre-smad |
| 9 | Kha-ro |
| 10 | Kha-bzang |
| 11 | Nag-shod (*stong bu-chung*) |

The four horns of Tibet and the upper and lower Zhang-zhung ten-thousand-district, together with the Supplementary Horn of Sum-pa comprise the so-called 'sixty thousand-districts of Tibet'.[164] In them are the sixty-one heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*).

[164] An error for sixty-one.

In the [four upper thousand-districts of the] eight thousand-districts of Branch Horn (Ru-lag), Mang-dkar and Khri-bom are thousand-districts of the 'Bro clan, and Sgrom-pa and Lha-rtse are thousand-districts of the Sgro clan. The horn official of those four is 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge. The horn horse (*ru-rta*) is cream colored with a red crest. The horn banner (*ru-dar*) is a white lion standing at the top of the heavens. For insignia of rank, they obtained the copper insignia. The horn official's 'champion' (*ting-gnon*) or partner in heroism (*dpa'-zla*) [sub-commander] is Gnam-te Gu-ru-tshab.

[Upper Ru-lag in tabular form and the rest of the horns in tabular form:]

Table 56: The Heads of Thousand-District (*stong-dpon*) of Upper Branch Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of the *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-dkar | 'Bro |
| 2 | Khri-bom | 'Bro |
| 3 | Sgrom-pa | Sgro |
| 4 | Lha-rtse | Sgro |

Table 57: General, Sub-commander (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Upper Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Branch Horn's General (*ru-dpon*)** | 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Horse** | Cream with a red crest (*ngang-pa phud-dmar*) |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Banner** | A white lion standing and holding aloft in the heavens |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnam-te Gu-ru-tshab |

Table 58: The Heads of Thousand-District (*stong-dpon*) of Lower Branch Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of the *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | Myang-ro | 'Bro |
| 6 | Khri-thang | Khyung-po |
| 7 | Gad-sram | Mgos |
| 8 | Mkhar-gsar | Shud-ke |
| 9 | Mtsho-ngam (*stong bu-chung*) | Sgro |

Table 59: General, Sub-commander, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Lower Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Branch Horn's Head of Thousand-Districts**[165] | Grandpa Khyung-po with the Turquoise Top-knot |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Horse** | Russet (*rag-pa*) with a black tail |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | 'Chims Can-bzher Lha-gzigs |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Banner** | Black flag (*dpal-dar nag-po*) |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*) of both Upper and Lower Branch Horn** | 'They come marching like a lion in snow' |

Table 60: The Heads of Thousand-District (*stong-dpon*) of Right Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-spo | Khyung-po |
| 2 | Shangs-sde | Khyung-po |
| 3 | Lang-mi | Spa-tshab |
| 4 | Phod-dkar | Spa-tshab |
| 5 | Nyen-mkhar | Lang-sa |
| 6 | 'Grangs-rtsang | Lang-sa |
| 7 | Yo-rabs | Mgos |
| 8 | Gzong-sde | Mgos |

Table 61: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Upper Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Right Horn's General (*ru-dpon*)** | Ancestor of the royal six districts (*sde*) of Lho-yo, Khyung-po Stag-bzang Snya-stong |
| **Upper Right Horn's Horse** | White socks, with sparks (*mtshal-lu me-stag*) |
| **Upper Right Horn's Banner** | A hoisted black flag with a white centre, with a drawing of a *khyung* bird |
| **Upper Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Spa-tshab Mtsho-bzher Rtsang-lod |
| **Upper Right Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |

165 This is surely an error for horn official (*ru-dpon*), which, in the *Section on Law and State*, is synonymous with general (*dmag-dpon*).

Table 62: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Lower Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Right Horn's Official/ General (*ru-dpon/dmag-dpon*)** | Mgos Khri-snyen Gsang-mchod |
| **Lower Right Horn's Horse** | Grey (*sngon-po*) turquoise horse |
| **Lower Right Horn's Banner** | Pale yellow with striped borders (*skyer-ka [kha] gong-khra*) |
| **Lower Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Lang-pa Mgon-ne |
| **Lower Right Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*) of Right Horn** | 'They come like fire burning an alpine meadow' |

Table 63: The Heads of Thousand-District (*stong-dpon*) of Central Horn.

| | **Thousand-district** | **Clan of *stong-dpon*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Phyug-'tshams | Phyug-'tshams |
| 2 | 'Grangs-'tshams | Phyug-'tshams |
| 3 | Gcong-pa | Cog-ro |
| 4 | 'Bring-'tshams | Cog-ro |
| 5 | Dor-ste | Sma |
| 6 | Sde-mtshams | Ska-ba |
| 7 | Kyi-stod | Sbas |
| 8 | Kyi-smad | Sbas |

Table 64: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Upper Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Central Horn's General (*ru-dpon/dmag-dpon*)** | Sna-nam Rgyal-rta, the 'little old lady' (Rgan-mo-chung) |
| **Upper Central Horn's Horse** | Pale horse with a white mane |
| **Upper Central Horn's Banner** | Reddish green (*spang-ma dmar-po*) with white streamers (*lce*), faded (*yal-ba*),[166] called 'red with multi-colored streamers' |
| **Upper Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnon 'Phan-gsum 'Gron-po-skyes |
| **Upper Central Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |

[166] Alternatively, *yal* may be an *dbu-med* to *dbu-can* transcription error for *spal*, itself a variant or error for *spel*, which, in the context, would mean 'billowing'. BELLEZZA (2005: 188) renders this horn banner as a 'red ensign with striped streamers'.

Table 65: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Lower Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Central Horn's general (*ru-dpon*)** | Dbas Skye-bzang Stag-snang |
| **Lower Central Horn's Horse** | White socks (*mtshal-lu*) with leopard spots |
| **Lower Central Horn's Banner** | Red flag |
| **Lower Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Shud-pu Khu-ring Khong-btsan |
| **Lower Central Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | *vacat* |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*) of Central Horn** | 'They come like darkness falling on a lake' |

Table 66: The Heads of Thousand-District of Left Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Yar-lung | Snyags |
| 2 | 'Chings-lung | Tshes-spong |
| 3 | Yar-kyang | Sna-nam |
| 4 | Yung-nga | Myang |
| 5 | Dwags-po | Lho |
| 6 | Nyag-nyi | 'Chims |
| 7 | Dmyal | Snyi-ba |
| 8 | Lho-brag | Snyi-ba |

Table 67: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Upper Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Left Horn's General (*ru-dpon/dmag-dpon*)** | Myag Stag-gzig G.yu-btsan |
| **Upper Left Horn's Horse** | Brownish-yellow haze (*mog-ro bun-bun*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Banner** | Red lion |
| **Upper Left Horn's Sub-commander** | G.yas Mang-bzhar Lhos-chung |
| **Upper Left Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper |

Table 68: General, Sub-commanders, Horn Horse, Horn Banner and Insignia of Lower Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Left Horn's General (*ru-dpon*)** | 'Chims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting |
| **Lower Left Horn's Horse** | White socks (*mtshal-lu*) |
| **Lower Left Horn's** | White flag with a black centre |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Banner** | |
| **Lower Left Horn's Sub-commander** | So-gad Gnyan-bzhar Lha-klu |
| **Lower Left Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | *vacat* |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*) of Left Horn** | 'They come like a gentle rain falling on a lake' |

So it is explained. That concludes the explanation of the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.1b}

*sde bcu ni bod ru re re la stong sde brgyad brgyad stong bu chung dang dgu/ sku srung dang bcu tham pa'o/*

*de la ru lag gi stong sde ni/ mang dkar dang khri bom gnyis/ sgrom pa dang lha rtse gnyis/ myang ro dang khri thang gnyis/ mkhar gsar dang gad sram gnyis/ mtsho ngam stong bu chung dang dgu/ sku srung lho phyogs pa dang bcu'o/*

*g.yas ru'i stong sde la stong spo'i stong sde dang shangs kyi stong sde gnyis/ lang mi dang phod dkar gnyis/ nyen mkhar dang 'grangs rtsang gnyis/ yo rabs dang gzong sde gnyis/ shangs la stong bu chung gcig ste dgu/ sku srung nub phyogs pa dang bcu'o/*

*dbu ru'i stong sde la/ dor ste dang sde mtshams gnyis/ phyug 'tshams dang 'grangs 'tshams gnyis/ gcong pa dang 'bring 'tshams gnyis/ kyi stod kyi smad gnyis/ yel rabs stong bu chung dang dgu/ sku srung shar phyogs pa dang bcu'o/*

*g.yo ru'i stong sde la/ yar lung la stong sde gcig 'ching lung la stong sde gcig ste gnyis/ yar kyang yung nga gnyis/ dwags po myag mi*[167] *gnyis/ dmyal lho brag gnyis/ lo ro stong bu chung dang dgu/ sku srung shar phyogs pa dang bcu'o/*

*de ni bod ru bzhi'i stong sde bzhi bcu'o/*

---

[167] Editor's gloss: *myi*.

*bod dang gru gu'i so mtshams na zhang zhung stod kyi stong sde lnga yod de/ 'o co bag dang gcig mang ma bag dang gnyis/ snye ma bag dang gsum/ rtsa mo bag dang bzhi/ ba ga stong bu chung dang lnga'o/*

*bod dang sum pa'i so mtshams na/ zhang zhung smad kyi stong sde lnga yod de/ gug ge gu cog gnyis/ spyir rtsang yar rtsang gnyis/ spyi ti stong bu chung dang lnga'o/*

*zhang zhung khri sde stod smad kyi stong sde bcu'o/*

*spyir sum pa'i stong sde'i ming ni lte*[168] *khyab rgya ldan gyi stong sde zhes bya ste/ de'i nang nas stong sde bcu gcig srong btsan sgam pos tshur bcad de/ rtse mthon dang yo mthon gnyis/ rgod tshang stod smad gnyis/ 'dzom stod 'dzom smad gnyis/ hre stod hre smad gnyis/ kha ro dang kha bzang gnyis/ nag shod stong bu chung dang bcu gcig go/*

*de tsho ni bod ru bzhi/ zhang zhung khri sde stod smad/ sum pa'i ru lag dang bcas pa de rnams la bod kyi stong sde drug cu zhes bya'o/*

*des la stong dpon drug cu rtsa gcig mchis te/ ru lag gi stong sde brgyad la mang dkar khri bom 'bro'i stong sde lags/ sgrom pa lha rtse sgro'i stong sde lags/ de bzhi'i ru pa'i dpon po ni/ 'bro rgyal mtshan seng ge lags/ ru rta ni ngang pa phun dmar lags/ ru dar ni seng ge dkar mo gnam du 'greng pa thogs pa lags/ yig tshang zangs kyi yi ge thob pa lags/ ru dpon gyi ting gnon nam dpa' zla ni gnam te gu ru tshab lags/ ru lag smad kyi stong sde bzhi la/ myang ro 'bro'i stong sde lags/ khri thang khyung po'i stong sde/ gad sram mgos kyi stong sde/ mkhar gsar shud ke'i stong sde/ mtsho ngam stong bu chung sgro'i stong sde lags so/*

---

[168] Read *ltong*.

*ru lag smad kyi stong sde'i stong*[169] *dpon ni/ khyung po mes po stong dpon g.yu'i zur phud can gyis byas/ ru rta ni rag pa rngog nag dpa' zla ni 'chims can bzher lha gzigs lags/ ru dar ni dpal dar nag po/ yig tshang ni zangs/ ru lag stod smad tsho'i dmag gi bzhed ni gangs la seng ge 'grims pa bzhin du 'ong pa lags skad do/*

*g.yas ru'i stong sde la/ lho yo shangs sde khyung po'i stong sde lags/ lang mi phod dkar spa tshab kyi stong sde lags/ nyen mkhar dang 'grangs rtsang lang sa'i stong sde lags/ yo rabs gzong sde mgos kyi stong sde lags/*

*g.yas ru stod kyi ru dpon ni/ rgyal lho yo sde drug gi mes po khyung po stag bzang nya stong gis bgyis/ ru rta ni 'tshal lu me stag ru dar ni dar nag snying dkar la bya khyung bris pa 'phyar/ dpa' zla ni spa tshab mtsho bzher rtsang lod/ yig tshang zangs kyi yi ge/*

*g.yas ru smad kyi ru dpon nam dmag dpon ni/ mgos khri snyen gsang mchod kyis byas/ ru rta ni sngon po g.yu rta/ ru dar ni skyer kha gong khra/ dpa' zla ni lang pa mgon ne/ yig tshang zangs/ g.yas ru'i dmag gi bzhed ni spang la me mched pa ltar 'ong ba lags so/*

*dbu ru'i stong dpon ni/ phyug 'tshams dang 'grangs 'tshams gnyis/ phyug 'tshams kyi stong sde/ gcong pa dang 'bring 'tshams gnyis cog ro'i stong sde/ dor ste sde mtshams gnyis sma dang ska ba'i stong sde/ kyi stod kyi smad gnyis sbas kyi stong sde/ dbu ru stod kyi ru dpon nam dmag dpon ni sna nam rgyal rta rgan mo chung gis byas/ ru rta ni ze dkar ltar skya/ ru dar ni spang ma dmar po la lce dkar po dang yal*[170] *ba/ dmar po lce khra bya ba lags/ dpa' zla ni gnon 'phan gsum 'gron po skyes kyis byas/ yig tshang zangs/ dbu ru smad kyi ru dpon ni/ dbas skye bzang stag snang /*

---

[169] Read *ru*.
[170] Read *spal*.

*ru rta ni mtshal lu gzig ris/ ru dar ni dpal dar dmar po/ dpa' zla shud pu khu ring khong btsan/ dmag gi bzhed ni mtsho la mun babs pa bzhin 'ong ba lags skad/*

*g.yo ru'i stong dpon la/ yar lung 'chings lung / gnyis snyags dang tshes spong gi stong sde/ yar rgyangs yung nga gnyis sna nam dang myang gi stong sde/ dwags po nyag nyi gnyis lho dang 'chims kyi stong sde/ dmyal lho brag gnyis snyi ba'i stong sde lags/ g.yo ru stod kyi dmag dpon nam ru dpon ni myag stag gzig g.yu btsan/ ru rta ni mog ro bun bun/ ru dar ni seng ge dmar po/ dpa' zla ni g.yas mang bzher lhos chung / yig tshang zangs so/ g.yo ru smad kyi ru dpon nam dmag dpon ni/ 'chims rgyal gzigs shud ting gis byas/ ru rta mtshal lu/ ru dar dar dkar snying nag dpa' zla so gad gnyan bzhar lha klu/ dmag gi bzhed ni mtsho la sbrang char babs pa bzhin du 'ong bar bshad pa'o/ des ni tshan bcu sde bcu bshad zin to/* (*Lde'u*: 258-61).

**_KhG_ {3.3.1b}**

Concerning the military thousand-districts, each horn was divided into eight thousand-districts, each [horn] had a sub-thousand-district (*stong bu-chung*) and a royal guard thousand-district (*sku-srung stong-sde*), making ten.

Table 69: The Ten Thousand-Districts of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Dor-sde |
| 2 | Sde-mtshams |
| 3 | Phyugs-mtshams |
| 4 | 'Brang-mtshams |
| 5 | Com-pa |
| 6 | 'Bri-mtshams |
| 7 | Skyid-stod |
| 8 | Skyid-smad |
| 9 | Yel-rab (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Eastern royal guard |

Table 70: The Ten Thousand-Districts of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Yar-lung |
| 2 | 'Phying-lung |
| 3 | Yar-mtshams |

| | |
|---|---|
| 4 | G.yu-'bangs |
| 5 | Dags-po |
| 6 | Nyag-nyi |
| 7 | Dmyal |
| 8 | Lho-brag |
| 9 | Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Northern royal guard |

Table 71: The Ten Thousand-Districts of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-chen |
| 2 | Shangs-chen |
| 3 | Lang-mi |
| 4 | Phod-dkar |
| 5 | Nyen-kar |
| 6 | 'Brang-mtshams |
| 7 | Yo-rab |
| 8 | Gzong-sde |
| 9 | Zhangs (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Western royal guard |

Table 72: The Ten Thousand-Districts of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-kar |
| 2 | Khri-bom |
| 3 | Grom-pa |
| 4 | Lha-rtse |
| 5 | Myang-ro |
| 6 | Khri-'thang |
| 7 | Khang-sar |
| 8 | Gad-bram |
| 9 | Mtsho-ngos (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Southern royal guard |

On the border of Tibet and Gru-gu are:

Table 73: The Five Thousand-Districts of Upper Zhang-zhung.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 'O-co |
| 2 | Mang-ma |
| 3 | Gnye-ma |
| 4 | Tsa-mo |
| 5 | Ba-ga (*stong bu chung*) |

On the borders of Tibet and Sum-pa are:

Table 74: The Five Thousand-Districts of Lower Zhang-zhung.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Gug-ge |
| 2 | Cog-la |
| 3 | Spyi-gtsang |
| 4 | Yar-gtsang |
| 5 | Ci-di (*stong bu chung*) |

Together these make the ten thousand-districts of Zhang-zhung.

The eleven *Ltong-khyab* thousand-districts full of Chinese comprise Sum-pa's Horn.

Table 75: The Eleven Thousand-Districts of Sum-pa's Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Rtse-mthon |
| 2 | Po-mthon |
| 3 | Rgod-tshang stod |
| 4 | Rgod-tshang smad |
| 5 | 'Jong-stod |
| 6 | 'Jong-smad |
| 7 | Dre-stod |
| 8 | Dre-smad |
| 9 | Kha-ro |
| 10 | Kha-zangs |
| 11 | Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) |

Those are the so-called 'sixty-one thousand-districts of Tibet'. Concerning the term fierce (*rgod*), it [designates] the excellent subjects who perform the duties of soldiers.[171] Those [thousand-districts] also had sixty-one heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*).

Table 76: Generals, Sub-commanders, Horn Horses, Horn Banners and Martial Metaphors of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Central Horn's General** | Sna-nam Rgyal-rgan |
| **Upper Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnon 'Phan-gsum |
| **Upper Central Horn's Horse** | Pale horse with a white mane |
| **Upper Central Horn's** | Red with multi-coloured streamers (*lce*) |

[171] This phrase has been translated and analysed already in STEIN 1963: 328.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Banner** | |
| **Lower Central Horn's General** | Sbas Skyes-bzang Stag-snang |
| **Lower Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Shud-bu Khod-btsan |
| **Lower Central Horn's Horse** | Vermillion with leopard spots |
| **Lower Central Horn's Banner** | Red flag (*dpal-dar*) |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*)** | 'Like snow falling on a lake' |

Table 77: Generals, Sub-commanders, Horn Horses, Horn Banners and Martial Metaphors of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Left Horn's General** | Myang Stag-gzigs G.yu-btsan |
| **Upper Left Horn's Sub-commander** | G.yas Mang-bzher |
| **Upper Left Horn's Horse** | Brownish-yellow haze (*mog-ro bun-bun*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Banner** | Red lion |
| **Lower Left Horn's General** | Mchims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting |
| **Lower Left Horn's Sub-commander** | So-gad Gnyan-bzher |
| **Lower Left Horn's Horse** | White socks |
| **Lower Left Horn's Banner** | White flag with a black centre |
| **Martial Metaphor** | 'Marching (*'grim*) like a gentle rain falling on a lake' |

Table 78: Generals, Sub-commanders, Horn Horses, Horn Banners and Martial Metaphors of Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Branch Horn's General** | 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnam-sde Gur-tshab |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Banner** | White lion leaping into the sky |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Horse** | Cream with a red crest (*ngang-pa phud-dmar*)[172] |
| **Lower Branch Horn's General** | Khyung-po G.yu'i zur-phud |

[172] BLONDEAU (1972: 312-13, n. 12) discusses the meaning of the term *phud* in the context of Old Tibetan documents relating to horses, but the meaning she arrives at differs significantly from the one that is evident here. 'Crest', however, remains a provisional translation.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | Mchims Btsan-zher Lha-gzigs |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Banner** | Black flag (*dpal-dar*) |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Horse** | Russet (*rag-pa*) with a black tail |
| **Martial Metaphor** | 'They march [like] hail going through snow' |

Table 79: Generals, Sub-commanders, Horn Horses, Horn Banners and Martial Metaphors of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Right Horn's General** | Khyung-po Stag-bzang Stong |
| **Upper Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Pa-tshab Mtsho-zher Tsad-lod |
| **Upper Right Horn's Horse** | White socks, with sparks (*me-stag*) |
| **Upper Right Horn's Banner** | Black flag with a white centre, with a drawing of a *khyung* bird |
| **Lower Right Horn's General** | Mgos Khri-gnyen G.yang-'phyos |
| **Lower Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Lang-pa Mgon-ne |
| **Lower Right Horn's Horse** | Grey (*sngon-po*) turquoise horse |
| **Lower Right Horn's Banner** | Pale yellow with striped borders (*skyer-kha gong-khra*) |
| **Martial Metaphor** | 'They marched like fire burning an alpine meadow' |

***KhG* {3.3.1b}**

*rgod kyi stong sde ni/ ru re la stong sde brgyad stong bu chung re/ sku srung gi stong sde re dang bcur phye ste/ dor sde sde mtshams gnyis/ phyugs mtshams 'brang mtshams gnyis/ com pa 'bri mtshams gnyis/ skyid stod skyid smad gnyis/ yel rab stong bu chung sku srung shar phyogs pa dang bcu ni dbu ru'i stong sde bcu'o/ /yar lung 'phying lung gnyis/ yar mtshams g.yu 'bangs gnyis/ dags po nyag nyi gnyis/ dmyal dang lho brag gnyis/ lo ro stong bu chung sku srung byang phyogs pa rnams g.yo ru'i stong sde bcu'o/ /stong chen shangs chen gnyis/ lang mi phod dkar gnyis/*

*nyen kar 'brang mtshams gnyis spo*[173] *rab gzong sde gnyis/ zhangs stong bu chung sku srung nub phyogs pa rnams g.yas ru'i stong sde'o/ /mang kar khri som*[174] *gnyis/ grom pa lha rtse gnyis myang ro khri 'thang gnyis khang sar gad bram gnyis mtsho ngos stong bu chung sku srung lho phyogs pa ste ru lag gi stong sde bcu'o/ /bod dang gru gu'i mtshams na 'o co mang ma gnyis gnye ma tsa mo gnyis ba ga stong bu chung ste zhang zhung stod kyi stong sde lnga/ bod dang sum pa'i mtshams na gug ga*[175] *cog la gnyis spyi gtsang yar gtsang gnyis ci di stong bu chung ste zhang zhung smad kyi stong sde lnga ste zhang zhung gi stong sde bcu'o/ /rtse mthon po mthon gnyis rgod tshang stod smad gnyis 'jong stod 'jong smad gnyis dre stod dre smad gnyis kha ro kha zangs gnyis/ nag shod stong bu chung ste sum pa'i ru stong*[176] *khyab rgya ldan gyi stong sde bcu gcig go /de rnams la rgod kyi stong sde drug bcu rtsa gcig zer ste rgod ni 'bangs rab tshan dmag gi las byed pa'i ming ste de rnams la stong dpon yang drug bcu rtsa gcig go /dbu ru stod smad kyi dmag dpon sna nam rgyal rgan dang sbas skyes bzang stag sna*[177]*/ de'i dpa' zla gnon 'phan gsum dang shod*[178] *bu khod btsan/ ru rta ze dkar rta skya dang mtshal bu gzig rid*[179] */ ru dar dmar po lce khra dang dpal dar dmar po/ dmag gi bzhed ni mtsho la gangs bab 'dra skad/ g.yo ru stod smad la ru dpon myang stag gzig g.yu btsan dang mchims rgyal gzigs shud ring*[180] */ dpa' zla g.yas mang bzher dang so gad gnyan bzher ru rta mog ro bun bun dang mtshal bu rting dkar ru dar seng ge dmar po dang dar dkar snying nag /mtsho la sbrang char bab pa bzhin du 'grim skad/ ru lag stod smad la ru dpon 'bro rgyal mtshan seng ge dang khyung po g.yu'i zur phud / dpa' zla gnam sde gur tshab dang mchims btsan zher lha*

[173] Read *yo*.
[174] Read *bom*.
[175] Read *ge*.
[176] Read *ltong*.
[177] Read *snang*.
[178] Read *shud*.
[179] Read *ris*.
[180] Read *ting*.

*gzigs/ ru dar seng dkar gnam 'phyong dang dpal dar nag po/ ru rta dang*[181] *pa phud dmar dang rag pa rngog nag /gangs la ser ba 'grim pa bzhin du 'gro skad/ g.yas ru stod smad la ru dpon khyung po stag bzang stong dang mgos khri gnyen g.yang 'phyos/ dpa' zla pa tshab mtsho zher tsad lod dang lang pa mgon ne/ ru rta mtshal bu me stag dang sngon po g.yu rta/ ru dar dar nag snying dkar bya khyung bris pa dang skyer kha gong khra/ spang la me mched pa lta bur 'grim skad/* (*KhG*: 187-88; 19b, l. 6-20b, l. 1).

**_BK_ {3.3.1b}**

Then, as for the exposition of the thousand-districts' cavalry mounts (*dmag-rta*), Gtsang Branch Horn has eight thousand-districts, the sub-thousand-district (*stong bu-chung*) making nine.

Table 80: The Four Thousand-Districts of Upper Gtsang Branch Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of the *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-kar | 'Bro |
| 2 | Khri-dgongs | 'Bro |
| 3 | Grom-pa | 'Bro |
| 4 | Lha-rtse | 'Bro |

When Tibet and China were fighting, the generals of the four horns were as follows:

Table 81: General, Sub-commanders (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horse, Horn Banner, Insignia, Martial Metaphor and Head Count of Upper Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Branch Horn's General (*dmag-dpon*)** | 'Bro Rgyal Seng-ge |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Horse** | Cream with sacred red (*ngang-pa 'phrul-dmar*) |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Banner** | A white lion standing and holding aloft in the heavens |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Sub-commander (*ru sgab-pa*)** | Snang-stag Byu-ru Mtshal |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Copper Insignia |

[181] Read *ngang*.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Branch Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Spread like crystal divination pebbles' (*shel gyi mo rdel bkram-pa 'dra*) |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Head Count** | 360,000 |

Table 82: The Four Thousand-Districts of Lower Gtsang Branch Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of the *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | Nyang-ro | 'Dre |
| 6 | Khri-thang | Khyung-po |
| 7 | Gad-bkram | 'Gos |
| 8 | Mkhar-pa | Shud-gu |
| 9 | Mtsho-ma (*stong bu-chung*) | Sgro |

Table 83: General, Sub-commanders (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horse, Horn Banner, Insignia, Martial Metaphor and Head Count of Lower Branch Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lower Branch Horn's General** | 'Dre Rgyal-to-re Khri-lod |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Horse** | Cream with a black mane |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Banner** | White flag, covering the plains (*dar-dkar thang-'gebs*) |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | 'Chims Can-bzher Lha-gzigs |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Insignia (*yig-tshang*)** | Turquoise Insignia |
| **Martial Metaphor (*dmag gi bzhed*) of both Upper and Lower Branch Horn** | 'Like hail falling on the plains' |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Head Count** | 360,000 |

The head count of both upper and lower [combined] is 720,000. So it is said.

Table 84: The Eight Thousand-Districts of Right Horn.

| | Thousand-district | Clan of *stong-dpon* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-yongs | Khyung-po |
| 2 | Shangs-steng | Khyung-po |
| 3 | Lang-mi | Pa-tshab |
| 4 | Phod-dkar | Pa-tshab |
| 5 | Drang-mtshams | Langs-pa |
| 6 | Gnyen-dkar | Langs-pa |
| 7 | Yel-rab | 'Gos |
| 8 | Zom-steng | 'Gos |
| 9 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) | Ring-sle-bya |

Table 85: Generals, Sub-commanders (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Right Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Right Horn's General** | Rgyal-ba Ye-shes de drug Mes-po Khyung-po Stag-zangs Snyang-stod |
| **Upper Right Horn's Horse** | White socks, with sparks (*mtshal-lu me-stag*) |
| **Upper Right Horn's Banner** | Black, like a lake |
| **Upper Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Pa-tshab Mtsho-bzher |
| **Upper Right Horn's Insignia** | Copper Insignia |
| **Upper Right Horn's Martial Metaphor** | Spread like a stem of coral |
| **Upper Right Horn's Head Count** | 350,000 |
| **Lower Right Horn's General** | Mgos Khri-bsnyon Dpal-mo |
| **Lower Right Horn's Horse** | Grey, cut through with turquoise (*sngon-po g.yu gshog*) |
| **Lower Right Horn's Banner** | Lion with a resplendent mane (*seng-ge gong bkra*) |
| **Lower Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Langs-pa Mgon-bu |
| **Lower Right Horn's Insignia** | Copper Insignia |
| **Lower Right Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Like fire burning an alpine meadow' |
| **Lower Right Horn's Head Count** | 350,000 |

United, [upper and lower] are 700,000—filled to the brim.

Table 86: The Heads of Thousand-District of Upper and Lower Central Horn.

| | **Thousand-district** | **Clan of *stong-dpon*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'Bring | Phyug-mtshams |
| 2 | Mtshams | Phyug-mtshams |
| 3 | Bcom-pa | Cog-ro |
| 4 | Zom-steng | Cog-ro |
| 5 | Dor-de | Sma |
| 6 | Ste-'dzom | Ska-ba |
| 7 | Skyid-stod | Sbas |
| 8 | Skyid-smad | Sbas |
| 9 | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) | Bran-ka |

Table 87: Generals, Sub-commanders (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Central Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Central Horn's General** | 'Little old lady' Sna-nam |
| **Upper Central Horn's Horse** | White mane teased by the wind (*ze-dkar rlung* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *bskyod*) |
| **Upper Central Horn's Banner** | A red flag with fiery white streamers (*lce*) |
| **Upper Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnon 'Dang-gsum 'Gron-skyes |
| **Upper Central Horn's Insignia** | Copper Insignia |
| **Upper Central Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Like a wild yak descending on the herd' |
| **Upper Central Horn's head count** | 370,000 |
| **Lower Central Horn's General** | Dbas Skye-bzang Stag-snang |
| **Lower Central Horn's Horse** | White socks with leopard spots |
| **Lower Central Horn's Banner** | Black-maned lion |
| **Lower Central Horn's Sub-commander** | Shud-pu Khong-'bring Tsong-btsan |
| **Lower Central Horn's Insignia** | *vacat* |
| **Lower Central Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Like darkness falling on a lake' |
| **Lower Central Horn's Head Count** | 370,000 |

Uniting both [upper and lower], they are 740,000.

Table 88: The Heads of Thousand-District of Left Horn.

| | **Thousand-district** | **Clan of *stong-dpon*** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Yar-klungs | Gnyags |
| 2 | Phyi-lung | Tshe-spong |
| 3 | Ljang-kyang | Myang |
| 4 | Lung-pa | Sna-nam |
| 5 | Gnyal | Mchims |
| 6 | Lho-brag | Snyi-ba |
| 7 | Nyang-po | Ldong |
| 8 | Dags-po | Mchims |
| 9 | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) | Sbrang-ston |

Table 89: Generals, Sub-commanders (*dpa'-zla*), Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Left Horn.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Upper Left Horn's General** | Myag Stag-bzang G.yu-brtan |
| **Upper Left Horn's Horse** | Brownish-yellow haze (*snag gi bya ma zho cig*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Banner** | A facing lion |
| **Upper Left Horn's Sub-commander** | Zhang Ma-bzhengs Stos-chung |
| **Upper Left Horn's Insignia** | Copper |
| **Upper Left Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Coming forth like lead rungs on a ladder' (*zha-nye'i them-bu brdol-ba 'dra*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Head Count** | 350,000 |
| **Lower Left Horn's General** | Mchims Rin-cen Rgyal-gzigs |
| **Lower Left Horn's Horse** | Honeybee protecting the turquoise (*sbrang-ma* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *g.yu 'phyong*) |
| **Lower Left Horn's Banner** | Five-fold adornment (*sna-lnga mdzes-pa*) |
| **Lower Left Horn's Sub-commander** | Lho Stag-chu Khri-gzigs |
| **Lower Left Horn's Insignia** | Copper Insignia |
| **Lower Left Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'Like pigeons descending on fodder' |
| **Lower Left Horn's Head Count** | 350,000 |

Uniting upper and lower, they are 700,000—filled to the brim.

The men and horses and troop numbers are explained in this way. Of the forty-two thousand-districts, the four sub-thousand-districts (*stong bu-chung*) are counted as two, and with the forty thousand-districts, this makes forty-two.

[So ends] the fourth chapter, concerning an investigation of the soldiers and horses of the thousand-districts.

**_BK_ {3.3.1b}**

*de nas stong sde'i dmag rta bshad pa ni: gtsang ru lag la stong sde brgyad: stong bu chung dang dgu la ni: mang gar*[182] *khri dgongs 'bro yi stong sde yin: grom pa lha rtse 'bro yi stong sde yin: rgya bod 'thab dus ru bzhi'i dmag dpon la: ru lag dmag dpon 'bro rgyal seng ge yin: ru rta ngang pa 'phrul dmar yin: ru dar seng ge dkar po gnam bsgreng thogs: ru sgab pa ni snang stag byu ru mtshal: yig tshangs pa ni zangs kyi yi ge gtong: dmag bzhed shel gyi mo rdel bkram pa 'dra: mgo grangs sum 'bum dang ni drug khri yod: ru lag smad kyi stong sde bzhi: nyang ro 'dre yi stong sde yin: khri tha*[183] *khyung po'i stong sde yin: gad bkram 'gos kyi stong sde yin: mkhar pa shu gu'i stong sde yin: 'tshong*[184] *ma stong bu chung sgro'i stong sde yin: ru lag smad*

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[182] Read *kar*.
[183] Read *thang*.
[184] Read *mtsho*.

*kyi dmag dpon ni: 'dre rgyal to ri*[185] *khri lod yin: ru rta ngang pa rngog nag yin: ru dar dar dkar thang 'gebs yin: ru sgab khyung po spu sna zung: yig tshang g.yu yi yi ge yin: dmag bzhed thang la ser ba bab pa 'dra: de yang sum 'bum drug khri ste: stod smad gnyis ka'i mgo grangs ni: bdun 'bum nyi khri yod do skad: g.yas ru'i stong sde brgyad la ni: stod*[186] *yongs shangs steng khyung po'i stong sde yin: lang mi phod dkar pa tshab stong sde yin: drang mtshams gnyen dkar langs pa'i stong sde yin: yel rab zom steng 'gos kyi stong sde yin: shangs kyi stong bu chung ring sle bya'i stong sde yin: g.yas ru stod kyi dmag dpon ni: rgyal ba ye shes de drug mes po: khyung po stag zangs nyang stod byas: ru rta ni mtsha' lu me stag: ru dar ni nag po mtsho 'dra: ru sgab ni pa tshab mtsho bzher: yig tshangs ni zangs kyi yi ge: dmag bzhed ni byu ru'i sdong po bkram pa 'dra: mgo grangs ni sum 'bum lnga khri: g.yas ru smad kyi dmag dpon ni: 'gos khri bsnyon dpal mo: ru rta ni sngon po g.yu gshog: ru dar ni seng ge gong bkra: ru sgab ni langs pa mgon bu: yig tshangs ni zangs kyi yi ge: dmag bzhed ni spang la me mched pa 'dra: mgo grangs sum 'bum lnga khrir bzhed: bsdebs pas bdun 'bum kha da chad: dbu ru stod smad stong sde la: 'bring mtsham$_S$ phyug mtshams stong sde yin: bcom pa zom steng cog ro'i stong sde yin: dor de ste 'dzom gnyis po de: rma dang ka ba'i stong sde yin: skyid stod skyid smad sbas kyi stong sde yin: yel zhabs stong bu chung bran ka'i stong sde yin: dbu ru stod kyi dmag dpon ni: sna nam rgan mo chung: ru rta ni ze dkar rlung bskyod: ru dar yang dar dmar po la: me lce dkar por gsal ba'o: ru sgab snon 'dang gsum 'gron skyes: yig tshangs ni zangs kyi yi ge: dmag bzhed ni 'brong dar khyu 'bebs 'dra: mgo grangs sum 'bum bdun khri'o: dbu ru smad kyi dmag dpon ni: sbas skyes bzang stag snang yin: ru rta ni mtsha' lu gzig ris: ru dar ni seng ge gong nag: ru sgab shud pu khong 'bring tsong*

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185 Read *re*.
186 Read *stong*.

*btsan: dmag bzhed mtsho la mun pa 'thibs pa 'dra: mgo grangs sum 'bum bdun khri'o: gnyis ka bsdebs pas bdun 'bum bzhi khri yod: g.yo ru na stong sde brgyad stong bu chung dang dgu: yar klungs dang phyi lung gnyis: gnyags dang tshe spong stong sde yin: ljang kyang lung pa gnyis po ni: myang dang sna nam stong sde yin: gnyal dang lho brag gnyis po ni: mchims dang snyi ba'i stong sde yin: nyang po dags po gnyis po de: ldong dang mchims kyi stong sde yin: ri bo stong bu chung sbrang ston stong sde yin: g.yo ru stod kyi dmag dpon ni: myang stag bzang g.yu brtan bya ba yin: ru rta ni snag gi bya ma zho cig: ru dar ni seng ge kha sprod: ru sgab ni zhang ma bzhengs stos chung : yig tshangs ni zangs kyi yi ge: dmag bzhed ni zha nye'i them bu brdol ba 'dra: mgo grangs ni sum 'bum lnga khri yod: g.yo ru smad kyi dmag dpon ni: mchims rin cen rgyal gzigs yin: ru rta ni sa'i sbrang ma g.yu 'phyong yin: ru dar ni sna lnga mdzes pa 'dra: ru sgab ni lho stag chu khri gzigs: yig tshangs ni zangs kyi yi ge: dmag bzhed ni phug ron gzan la bab pa 'dra: mgo grangs ni sum 'bum lnga khri: stod smad sdebs pas bdun 'bum kha da chad: mi rta dmag grangs de ltar bstan: stong sde bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis las: stong sde bzhi bcu tham pa la: stong bu chung bzhi po gnyis su brtsis pas rtsa gnyis thim: stong sde'i dmag rta dpyad pa'i skabs te bzhi pa'o:* (*BK*: 437-40; CHANDRA 1982: 547-50; *ca*, 8a, l. 5-9b, l. 4).

## Analysis {3.3.1b}

As discussed in section {3.1.1}, which deals with the borders of the four Horns of Tibet and compares the lists of thousand-districts in *Jo sras* with those of *Ne'u*, Tibet was divided into Horns as early as the mid to late seventh century. The thousand-districts were created not long thereafter, although the tradition found in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* predates that preserved in *Lde'u* and *KhG*. Another source, the *Blon po bka' thang yig* (*BK*), a treasure text (*gter-ma*) revealed by U-rgyan Gling-pa, records

catalogues of thousand-districts that accord with the latter tradition. Here I will compare the catalogues of *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK* side by side, and relate them to the earlier tradition found in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*. I will also consider the geographical locations of the individual thousand-districts of the four horns, Sum-pa and Zhang-zhung.

An interesting feature of these two main traditions of thousand-districts is that they present their catalogues in a different order. The earlier tradition of thousand-districts, preserved in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, proceeds from Central Horn to Left Horn, Right Horn and Branch Horn. The later tradition preserved in *Lde'u* and *BK* starts with Branch Horn, and then goes through Right Horn, Central Horn, Left Horn, Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa. Curiously, *KhG*, though its contents belong to the later tradition, follows the order in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*. For ease of comparison, and because *Lde'u*'s double cycle of ten catalogues is the present point of departure, I will follow *Lde'u*'s order in comparing these catalogues.

Before moving on to a detailed analysis of the thousand-districts, it will be useful to consider first the nature of these districts. Despite the existence of several articles devoted to Tibet's system of thousand-districts, few writers seem to bother with explaining what a thousand-district actually was, and proceed on the assumption that a thousand-district was a regiment of one thousand soldiers. This is generally a convenient solution, as there is little in the way of precise information about the thousand-districts. Takeuchi was able to refine this definition by noting that the subordinate units of the thousand-districts, *tshan*, were based on a Chinese unit comprised of fifty households. The thousand-district, TAKEUCHI (1994: 861, n. 36) reasoned, therefore 'refers to the number of member households and not the number of soldiers to be raised'. One might just as easily deduce from Takeuchi's inquiry a

separate conclusion that affirms the second part of his conclusions as well as the first; in Tang dynasty China and in later Tibetan history, the soldier tax, like most other taxes, was levied at the household level, and a thousand-district, comprised of approximately one thousand households, may likewise have been responsible for supplying approximately one thousand soldiers. Furthermore, it is evident that the thousand-district was in charge of the soldiers after they were conscripted from their home estates, and that the thousand-district included those whose duties were not strictly military in nature.[187]

Turning to a parallel structure in early Tang dynasty China (618-722), the 'intrepid militias', it is noteworthy that some of these numbered approximately 1,000 troops (DES ROTOURS 1947: xxxii; DES ROTOURS 1948: 763). They consisted of men who were conscripted, usually for three year tours-of-duty which, voluntarily or not, were sometimes extended (DES ROTOURS 1947: xxxii). These militias did not serve their local areas, but were usually stationed either at the centre, guarding the emperor, or along the borders. There are distinct Tibetan echoes here, since, as noted above at {3.1.7}, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* states that Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom—each thousand-districts of Central Horn—were honoured for their efforts in the sack of the Chinese capital (cf. *infra* {3.7.6c}). This demonstrates that the troops supplied by the thousand-districts did not serve as local militias guarding only their own area, but were sent all over the Tibetan Empire. In China, a reform in 722-23 officially created a professional army, and ended the era of militias, whose members, DES ROTOURS (1947: xlvi-vii) contends, had in some cases become de-facto professional soldiers. Throughout the Tang dynasty, the issue of conscripted armies versus

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[187] RICHARDSON (1998 [1990b]: 171) notes that heads of thousand-districts also mediated civil disputes and were responsible for the equitable distribution of surplus grain. Cf. TAKEUCHI 1994.

professional armies was one of the main themes in military administration. Considering the Tibetan army in this light, we have little evidence to judge whether or not conscription meant a lifetime of soldiering or a short, fixed term. The transition to a professional army only happened in China in 722-23, and on the borders in 737, but this is not to say that the Tibetan army followed suit, or that the Tibetan army could not have been 'professionalised' before the Chinese army. Conscription in China as a professional soldier also coincided with tax-exempt status and exemption from corvée labour. In addition, the soldiers were often accompanied by their families, effectively creating military colonies and effecting a population transfer to the periphery (DES ROTOURS 1947: lii). Again, this is a model that may also inform the movement of Tibetan people to their conquered territories. In any case, it is instructive to note that the definition of thousand-district may have changed with the transformation of Tibetan military policy. As will be seen, the catalogues of thousand-districts available to us only cover the period up to the mid-eighth century, but, parallel with the Tang, this was a time of military and administrative reorganisation.

Turning to the above catalogues, they indicate that each horn was administratively divided into two halves. The upper half contains four thousand-districts, each of which is governed by a head of thousand-district (*stong-dpon*), who is identified only by his clan name, most likely indicating the hereditary nature of the post. These four heads of thousand-districts were subordinate to the general of the upper half, called either 'horn chief/ horn official' (*ru-dpon*) or 'general' (*dmag-dpon*). The lower half of each horn mirrors the upper half, with the addition of a 'sub-thousand-district' (*stong bu-chung*). This probably consists of five hundred, or perhaps simply less than one thousand households. The former is suggested by *BK*'s tally of the thousand-districts, in which the four sub-thousand-districts are calculated

as the equivalent of two thousand-districts. The lower half, like the upper half, has its own chain of command, its own emblematic horse, flag, insignia of rank and sub-commander. In *Lde'u* and *KhG*, the two halves appear to share a 'martial metaphor' (*dmag gi bzhed*), but *BK* provides a metaphor for each half, and also adds a head count.

In the second list of thousand-districts in *Lde'u*, which includes clan leadership, it appears that there is greater attention to upper and lower areas, with the first four being upper and the last four being lower. As a result, some thousand-districts appear in an order different from that of the first list. This is further corroborated by the order in which the thousand-districts appear in *BK*, where there is a more explicit differentiation between upper and lower halves of each horn. The list found in *KhG* follows the order of the first, minimalist list of *Lde'u*, and does not explicitly distinguish upper and lower thousand-districts, though it does provide the names of various horn officials/ generals. The order from the second list in *Lde'u* is followed below, and any differences in orthography from the first list are noted, with the orthography of the detailed, second list appearing first.

As with the catalogues of thousand-districts preserved in *Jo sras* and in *Ne'u*, the thousand-districts are always listed in pairs. The original order of *Lde'u* is retained here. Where the order of thousand-districts in the other catalogues has been altered to fit with *Lde'u*, their original order of appearance is given in parentheses.

Table 90: The Thousand-Districts of Branch Horn.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*BK*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Jo sras*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Ne'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mang-dkar | Mang-kar | Mang-kar | Mang-mkhar (5) | Mang-dkar (5) |
| 2 | Khri-bom | Khri-dgongs | Khri-bom | Khrom-pa (6) | Khri-gong (6) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Sgrom-pa | Grom-pa | Grom-pa | Grom [Khrom]-pa (1) | Grom-pa (1) |
| 4 | Lha-rtse | Lha-rtse | Lha-rtse | Lha-rtse ['tshong] (2) | Lha-mtsho (2) |
| 5 | Myang-ro | Nyang-ro | Myang-ro | Myang-ro (4) | Nyang-ro (4) |
| 6 | Khri-thang | Khri-thang | Khri-'thang | Khri-dang (3) | Khri-dang (3) |
| 7 | Gad-sram | Gad-bkram | Gad-bram (8) | Gad (8) | Gad-gsum (8) |
| 8 | Mkhar-gsar | Mkhar-pa | Khang-sar (7) | Khab-sar (7) | Khab-so (7) |
| 9 | Mtsho-ngam (*stong bu-chung*) | Mtsho-ma (*stong bu-chung*) | Mtsho-ngos (*stong bu-chung*) | Mngal (*stong bu-chung*) | Mtsho-rta (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Southern royal guard | | Southern royal guard | | |

The continuity between the thousand-districts of Branch Horn in the earlier tradition preserved in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* and those in the later tradition contained in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK* is striking. Many of the toponyms are identifiable. Mang-dkar likely corresponds to the modern Mang-dkar Valley, south of Chu-shar and old Lha-rtse (DORJE 1999: 290). UEBACH (1999: 265) notes the identity of this thousand-district with Mang-mkhar Mdo-phug, one of the thirty-seven holy places of the Bon-po. The location of Khri-bom is uncertain, but since it is paired in the catalogue with the thousand-district of Mang-dkar, its location must be found in the vicinity of Mang-dkar. The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* mentions Khri-bom as the location of the stronghold from which the famous minister, Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, planned intrigues against Srong-btsan Sgam-po (*DTH*: 101, 130).[188]

Grom-pa, wich is the site of the 'horn-suppressing temple' of Grom-pa Kyang/Rgyang, located on the left hip of the supine demoness (*TBH*: 563-67;

[188] Zu-tse's territory comprised Rtsang-Bod, which he seized after his defeat of the lord Mar-mun. As his stronghold was at Khri-bom, this would appear to assign a location to this elusive area.

SØRENSEN AND HAZOD 2005: 184-98), and identical with the Bon-po holy place of Gram-pa Kha'u, has been located by UEBACH (1999: 264) ‘in the valley of 'Gram above Sa skya’. WANGDU (1994: 633) claims that the thousand-district of Lha-rtse corresponds to old Lha-rtse village in modern Lha-rtse County.

Myang-ro thousand-district is to be located in the Nyang River Valley of Gtsang between modern Rgyal-rtse and Pa-snam near 'Brong-rtse, just north of Rtse-chen (DOTSON 2003: 49; DORJE 1999: 261). This territory overlaps with the ancient minor kingdom of Myang-ro Sham-po (DUNG-DKAR 2002: 921; HAZOD 2002: 35, n. 19; DOTSON 2003: 48-49). It is paired with Khri-thang, which must necessarily be nearby, perhaps in the area of modern Pa-snam.[189] The locations of Gad-sram and Mkhar-sar are uncertain.

The sub-thousand-district of Mtsho-ngam corresponds to Mtsho-rnga'i Dril-chung, one of the thirty-seven holy places of the Bon-po, which UEBACH (1999: 264) locates ‘to the north of 'Bri mtshams’. KARMAY (1972: map) agrees with this location on one of his earlier maps.

Branch Horn was also responsible for supplying the southern royal guard, a regiment that, like the other royal guards, probably traveled with the Tibetan emperor and his court.

Table 91: The Thousand-Districts of Right Horn.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*BK*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Jo sras*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Ne'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Stong-spo | Stong-yongs | Stong-chen | Stong-yong | Sde-spo |
| 2 | Shangs-sde/ Shangs | Shangs-steng | Shangs-chen | Shangs-sdings (3) | Shangs-stengs (3) |
| 3 | Lang-mi | Lang-mi | Lang-mi | 'O-mi (6) | 'O-mi (6) |
| 4 | Phod-dkar | Phod-dkar | Phod-dkar | | |
| 5 | Nyen-mkhar | Gnyen-dkar (6) | Nyen-kar | | |

[189] Personal communication, Pasang Wangdu 26 July 2002.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 'Grangs-rtsang/ 'Grang-rtsang | Drang-mtshams (5) | 'Brang-mtshams | 'Bro-mi (5) | 'Brog-mi (5) |
| 7 | Yo-rabs | Yel-rab | Yo-rab | Gshang-lha (2) | 'O-chab (2) |
| 8 | Gzong-sde | Zom-steng | Gzong-sde | Bzang-por (4) | Bzangs-po (4) |
| 9 | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) (7) | Shangs (*stong bu-chung*) (7) |
| 10 | Western royal guard | | Western royal guard | | |

The thousand-districts of Right Horn, along with those of Sum-pa's Horn, are among the most difficult to locate. A clue is offered, however, by the territorial reorganisation that UEBACH (1985: 150) dates to 744. As is evident from the catalogues in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, prior to this reorganisation, Central Horn had twelve thousand-districts and Right Horn only six. At the time of the census or shortly thereafter, three or four of Central Horn's thousand-districts were transferred to Right Horn. The catalogues of thousand-districts in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, which date to before this reorganisation, place Nyen-kar, Phod-kar and 'Grams-tsha/ 'Grangs in Central Horn, while the catalogues in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK*, which post-date the territorial reorganisation, place these in Right Horn. UEBACH (1985: 150) reasons that for this transfer to occur, these thousand-districts had to border Right Horn and Central Horn. This should make an identification of these thousand-districts easier, as it tells us that Nyen-kar, Phod-kar and 'Grams-tsha/ 'Grangs were situated near each other somewhere on the border of Central Horn and Right Horn. This also tells us exactly the same thing concerning Lang-mi, since it is paired with Phod-kar in the catalogues. Further, the earlier catalogues pair Phod-kar with Ngam-ru'i-phag, which UEBACH (1999: 267) locates in the region of Gnam-mtsho. By extension, both Phod-kar and Lang-mi should be in the vicinity, in 'Dam-gzhung and Stod-lung Counties.

The location of Nyen-kar is somewhat complicated. Nyen-kar was one of the most popular royal residences, and appears numerous times in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. The same text also names both Nyen-kar gyi Thang-bu-ra and Nyen-kar Lcang-bu as royal residences. While it is quite possible that there was more than one Lcang-bu in central Tibet, if these all relate to the same area, then the toponym Nyen-kar Lcang-bu provides a solid clue for its location, since the Lcang-bu Inscription describes a certain Lcang-bu Temple, most likely located near the site of this pillar inscription, which stands in the courtyard of Mtshur-phu Monastery in Stod-lung (RICHARDSON 1985: 92). On the other hand, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (l. 118) mentions Nyen-kar Rnying-ba as the stronghold of Zing-po-rje Stag-skya-bo, who ruled the areas of Klum-ro and Yel-rab. As revealed in the songs of Sad-mar-kar in the *Chronicle*, the former area was located in the vicinity of Mal-gro, so this stronghold may have been nearby. On the other hand, the very same line of this song states that *nyen-kar* is near Dog (*nyen kar nI dog dang nye / 'bras drug ni si lI li / / mal tro nI klum dang nye /*) (PT 1287, l.422). If Dog is to be associated with modern Dog-sde, just north of Lhasa, then this accords rather well with Hazod's tentative location of Nyen-kar Rnying-ba/ Nyen-kar Stag-rtse to the northeast on the 'Phan-po River (HAZOD 2003; cf. RICHARDSON 1998 [1969a]: 34). At the same time, there are solid grounds for placing Nyen-kar in Stod-lung, near Tsur-phu or in Mal-gro, so the matter remains unresolved, and we should note the likelihood that there was more than one Nyen-kar area, as suggested by the existence of the toponym 'Old Nyen-kar' (Nyen-kar Rnying-ba). However, in the context of the present discussion of thousand-districts bordering Right Horn and Central Horn, only Stod-lung makes sense as the location of the thousand-district of Nyen-kar.

The only other readily identifiable toponym in the catalogues is Shangs, which is named as the sub-thousand-district. This may overlap geographically with the thousand-district of Shang-sde/ Shangs, and also with the administrative district (*yul-dpon-tshan*) of Shangs, and likely corresponds to the Shangs River Valley on the north side of the Gtsang-po, in modern Rnam-gling County.

Table 92: The Thousand-Districts of Central Horn.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*BK*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Jo sras*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Ne'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Phyug-'tshams | Mtshams (2) | Phyugs-mtshams (3) | Phyugs-'tshams (2) | Chugs-'tshams (2) |
| 2 | 'Grangs-'tshams | 'Bring (1) | 'Brang-mtshams (4) | 'Bri-te (4) | 'Bring-'tshams (3) |
| 3 | Gcong-pa | Bcom-pa | Com-pa (5) | Co-la (5) | Bcom-pa (7) |
| 4 | 'Bring-'tshams | Zom-steng | 'Bri-mtshams (6) | Zo-stengs (6) | Gzo-steng (8) |
| 5 | Dor-ste | Dor-de | Dor-sde (1) | Dor-sde (1) | Dor-te (1) |
| 6 | Sde-mtshams | Ste-'dzom | Sde-mtshams (2) | Ste-'dzoms (3) | Stong-'dzim (4) |
| 7 | Kyi-stod | Skyid-stod | Skyid-stod | Kyid-stod | Skyi-stod (9) |
| 8 | Kyi-smad | Skyid-smad | Skyid-smad | Kyid-smad | Skyi-smad (10) |
| 9 | Yel-rabs (*stong bu-chung*) | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) | Yel-rab (*stong bu-chung*) | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) (13) | Yel-zhabs (*stong bu-chung*) (13) |
| 10 | Eastern royal guard | | Eastern royal guard | Ngam-ru-phag | Ngam-ru'i-phag (12) |
| 11 | | | | 'Grangs | 'Grams-tsha (5) |
| 12 | | | | Nyen-khar | Nyer-kar (6) |
| 13 | | | | Phor-kha (9) | Phod-dkar (11) |

This is the only catalogue where the order in *Lde'u*'s detailed catalogue differs from that of the cursory catalogue of thousand-districts that precedes it. *KhG*, however, follows the order of the cursory catalogue in *Lde'u*. Many of the thousand-districts listed by *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, such as Nyen-kar, Phod-kar and 'Grams-tsha/ 'Grangs, are listed in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK* as thousand-districts of Right Horn. As

noted already, this is presumably due to a territorial reorganisation that occurred in 744 that served to balance the horns. It is interesting also that *BK* again accords in places with the older catalogues by naming Zom-steng, which is found in neither *Lde'u* nor *KhG*. Further, *BK*'s catalogue omits Phyugs-mtshams. This is likely a simple error, but it results in another error, in that 'Bring-mtshams must then be regarded as two separate districts, 'Bring and Mtshams.

As noted in the introduction to these catalogues, thousand-districts are listed in pairs, and due to the fact that this helps to locate them, I have not broken the pairs when rearranging the catalogues to accord with *Lde'u*. One correspondence that may, as a result, be less than obvious is the older catalogues' mentions of Dor-sde (*Jo sras*)/ Dor-te (*Ne'u*), which is also found in the newer catalogues.

The first four thousand-districts—those of Upper Central Horn—are to be found in the north of Central Horn. The thousand-district of Gcong-pa/ Bcom-pa may correspond to Gcom-mdo, southwest of Rwa-steng.

The thousand-district of Dor-de/Dor-ste, is likely to be found on the border between Upper and Lower Central Horn, since the earlier catalogues pair it with Phyugs-mtshams. Considering the location of Upper and Lower Skyi, URAY (1960: 32) places them in 'the basin of the Skyi/ Skyid chu river near Lhasa'.

Table 93: The Thousand-Districts of Left Horn.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*BK*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Jo sras*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Ne'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Yar-lung | Yar-klungs | Yar-lung | Shar-po | Shar-po |
| 2 | 'Chings-lung/ 'Ching-lung | Phyi-lung | 'Phying-lung | Phying-ba | Spyi-bo |
| 3 | Yar-kyang/ Yar-rgyang | Ljang-kyang | Yar-mtshams | Mang-rgyal (4) | Yar-rkyangs (4) |
| 4 | Yung-nga | Lung-pa | G.yu-'bangs | Khri'u (6) | Yum-'bangs (6) |
| 5 | Dwags-po | Dags-po (8) | Dags-po | Dwags-po (8) | Dags-po (8) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | Nyag-nyi/ Myag-mi | Nyang-po (7) | Nyag-nyi | Myang (7)[190] | Nyag-nyi (7) |
| 7 | Dmyal | Gnyal (5) | Dmyal | Dmyal (5) | Dmyal-khri (5) |
| 8 | Lho-brag | Lho-brag (6) | Lho-brag | Lho- 'brog (3) | Lho-brag (3) |
| 9 | Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) | Lo-ro (*stong bu-chung*) | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) | Ri-bo (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Eastern royal guard | | Northern royal guard | | |

*Lde'u* seems to be in error here by stating that Left Horn, like Central Horn, was responsible for the eastern royal guard. Due to this error, *Lde'u* names no northern royal guard at all in its catalogues. Some of the divergences in *BK* are very interesting. Ljang-kyang and Lung-pa are otherwise unattested in the catalogues, and it is particularly striking that *BK* agrees with the earlier tradition of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* in naming Ri-bo as the sub-thousand-district. The correspondence between the older catalogues and the newer catalogues is also striking. Oddly, the older catalogues do not include Yar-lung, one of the most famous places in southern Tibet. Instead they name Shar-po, which is not found in the newer catalogues. An odd feature of the two older catalogues is that where *Ne'u* names Dmyal-khri as a thousand-district, *Jo sras* splits this into two: Dmyal and Khri'u. Dmyal is found in the newer catalogues, but Khri'u is otherwise unattested.

In his map of Left Horn, Hazod locates all of the thousand-districts and administrative districts (GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 239-40). The thousand-districts of the upper half are located in the west, while those of the lower half lie to the east. In the upper half, Yar-lung and Phying-lung are well-attested places, and Yar-rkyang, Hazod suggests, may be identified with modern Yar-skyang, southeast of Grva-nang

[190] *BK* pairs Myang-po with Dwags-po, while *Lde'u* and *KhG* each pair Dwags-po with Nyag-nyi.

(GYALBO *et al.* 2000: 240). This area is paired with Yung-nga/ Yum-'bangs/ G.yu-'bangs/ Lung-pa, the location of which is uncertain. Following UEBACH (1987: 52, n. 147), Hazod suggests 'On as a possible location.

Looking now to the lower half of Left Horn, Dags-po, Dmyal and Lho-brag are well-known places. As noted at {3.1.11}, while YAMAGUCHI (1992: 77-79, n. 29) maintains that Nyag-nyi appears in the older sources not as a toponym, but as an epithet that may have later become a place name, URAY (1988) reads it as a toponym and locates it adjacent to Dags-po. The sub-thousand-district of Lo-ro corresponds to the modern area of Lo-ro along the White Lo-ro River.

Table 94: The Five Thousand-Districts of Upper Zhang-zhung.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'O-co-bag | 'O-co |
| 2 | Mang-ma-bag | Mang-ma |
| 3 | Gnye-ma-bag | Gnye-ma |
| 4 | Rtsa-mo-bag | Tsa-mo |
| 5 | Ba-ga (*stong bu chung*) | Ba-ga (*stong bu chung*) |

Both *Lde'u* and *KhG* state that the five thousand-districts of Upper Zhang-Zhung are located on the border of Tibet and Gru-gu. In the *Old Tibetan Annals*, Dru-gu refers to the Western Turks, while the Eastern Turks are referred to as 'Bug-cor (BECKWITH 1987: 63-64, n. 56). The terms may not be used so precisely in the present catalogue. One interesting feature of the catalogues is the presence of the suffix *bag* in the place names in *Lde'u*'s catalogue, which are absent in *KhG*. One possibility is that *bag* was a Zhang-zhung term equivalent to the Tibetan *sde*, meaning ‘district’.[191]

[191] In Bailey’s English Kinnauri vocabulary, the term *baglī* means ‘share’ or ‘part’ (BAILEY 1910: 316; BAILEY 1911: 688). This presupposes, however, a close relationship between Kinnauri and Zhang-zhung, and does not fully solve the meaning of the term *bag* in the above context.

Mang-ma may correspond to the Mang-nang/ Ma-nam/ Mang-na area in modern Rtsa-mda' County (DORJE 1999: 355) near Mtho-lding Monastery. This area is also home to the famous Mang-na Monastery. There is also a Nye area in Rtsa-mda' County that may correspond to Gnye-ma/ Gnye-ma-bag.[192]

One possible location for the sub-thousand-district of Ba-ga is Bar-kha, between Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarowar (DORJE 1999: 347).[193]

The remaining thousand-districts of Upper Zhang-zhung remain unidentified, but if these locations are correct, it would seem to cast doubt on the statment that these thousand-districts border Gru-gu.

Table 95: The Five Thousand-Districts of Lower Zhang-zhung.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Gug-ge | Gug-ge |
| 2 | Gu-cog | Cog-la |
| 3 | Spyir-rtsang | Spyi-gtsang |
| 4 | Yar-rtsang | Yar-gtsang |
| 5 | Spyi-ti (*stong bu chung*) | Ci-di (*stong bu chung*) |

Both *Lde'u* and *KhG* state that the five thousand-districts of Upper Zhang-Zhung are located on the border of Tibet and Sum-pa. The first of these thousand-districts, Gug-ge, is a well-known place in modern Rtsa-mda' County. While it can indicate a large area, such as the kingdom of Gu-ge, it refers more specifically to the valleys of the northern tributaries of the Sutlej River.

[192] Personal Communication, Tsering Gyalbo, 3 April 2006.

[193] Personal Communication, Tsering Gyalbo, 3 April 2006. Alternatively, it could correspond to the Bhaga Valley in Himachal Pradesh (STUTCHBURY 1999: 158-59). This is unlikely, however, as Upper Zhang-zhung should be found to the north of Lower Zhang-zhung. Then again, if the identification of Mang-ma with the Mang-na Valley is correct, then such a location would not be out of the question.

The other easily identifiable toponym in Lower Zhang-zhung is the sub-thousand-district of Spyi-ti/ Ci-di, which most likely corresponds to modern Spiti, across the border in Himachal Pradesh.

Between Gu-ge and Spiti, Cog-la/ Gu-cog lies in the northwest extremes of Rtsa-mda' County. Gu-ge and Gu-cog together formed the heart of ancient Zhang-zhung. PT 1060, an Old Tibetan ritual text that concerns horses, contains a catalogue of thirteen kingdoms that includes rulers, strongholds, ministers, subject territories (*khol*) and horses. The catalogue begins at the 'Head of the River' (Chab gyi Ya-bgo), whose stronghold is Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar, and whose ruler is Lig-snya-shur. This designates this kingdom as none other than Zhang-zhung. Significantly, the subject territories are Gu-ge and Gug-lchog (PT 1060, ll. 63-64).

The thousand-districts of Spyir-rtsang and Yar-rtsang are somewhat more difficult to locate. In order for Lower Zhang-zhung to border Sum-pa, they should be found to the northwest of Gu-ge and Gu-cog, north of Right Horn (YAMAGUCHI 1970b: 98). As we have seen with the location of the five thousand-districts of Upper Zhang-zhung on the border with Gru-gu, however, the statements regarding the general location of the thousand-districts of Upper and Lower Zhang-zhung may have to be disregarded. This being the case, another possible location for Spyir-rtsang and Yar-rtsang is in modern 'Brong-pa County, between Pu-hrang and the source of the Gtsang-po (DORJE 1999: 313-14).[194]

Table 96: The Thousand-Districts of Sum-pa's Horn.

| | ***stong-sde* (*Lde'u*)** | ***stong-sde* (*KhG*)** | ***stong-sde* (*Ne'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Rtse-mthon | Rtse-mthon | Rtse-'thon |
| 2 | Yo-mthon | Po-mthon | Rgod-lding |
| 3 | Rgod-tshang stod | Rgod-tshang stod | Khang-grong |
| 4 | Rgod-tshang smad | Rgod-tshang smad | Khang-bzangs |

[194] Personal Communication, Tsering Gyalbo, 3 April 2006.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 'Dzom-stod | 'Jong-stod | Mdzo-stod (7) |
| 6 | 'Dzom -smad | 'Jong-smad | Mdzo-smad (8) |
| 7 | Hre-stod | Dre-stod | Kun-gnas (5) |
| 8 | Hre-smad | Dre-smad | Mdo-ral (6) |
| 9 | Kha-ro | Kha-ro | Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) |
| 10 | Kha-bzang | Kha-zangs | |
| 11 | Nag-shod (*stong bu-chung*) | Nags-shod (*stong bu-chung*) | |

YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 1975) devoted two articles to the geography of Sum-pa, and located some of the thousand-districts. Among them, YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 99, n. 8) states that Rgod-tshang is located 'to the southwest of Phu mdo and near byang sTag lung'. YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 115, n. 87) further postulates that Spo-mthon was 'vaguely to the north or northwest' of Rgod-tshang, and locates Rtse-mthon in this general vicinity as well. He further posits that Upper and Lower 'Jong included modern Upper and Lower 'Jong-mo, and was east or northeast of Rgod-tshang. He places Upper and Lower 'Dre further to the east, including and adjoining Thong-khyab.

While Yamaguchi locates the other toponyms in relation to Rgod-tshang, this identification, on which his others all rest, is not uncontested. According to the borders of the horns at {3.1.1}, Byang Stag-lung would in fact lie within Central Horn. This casts doubt on Yamaguchi's location of Rgod-tshang in this area. Looking to other possibilities, DUNG-DKAR (2002: 2044) claims that Rgod-tshang corresponds to a modern toponym in 'Bar-khams County, in Eastern Tibet. This may be wrong, however, since there is an area known as Upper and Lower Rgod-tshang in the 'Gar region in modern Seng-ge Gtsang-po County in Western Tibet (DORJE 1999: 334).[195] In the above discussion of Zhang-zhung's geography, it was noted that the catalogues' claims that Sum-pa bordered Lower Zhang-zhung might need to be discarded. On the

[195] Personal Communication, Tsering Gyalbo, 3 April 2006.

other hand, the correspondence with Upper and Lower Rgod-tshang in Western Tibet is a rather precise location for a thousand-district of Sum-pa, and it is not far removed from the Lower Zhang-zhung thousand-district of Spyir-rtsang. This being the case, the suggested location for Upper and Lower Rgod-tshang in the 'Gar region of Western Tibet is consistent with the statement that Sum-pa bordered Lower Zhang-zhung, and may therefore be more likely than those locations proposed by Dung-dkar and Yamaguchi.

Given this confusion and the unattested place names of most of the thousand-districts of Sum-pa's Horn, it seems that, apart from Upper and Lower Rgod-tshang, only the sub-thousand-district, Nags-shod, can be identified with any certainty. This would seem to indicate modern Nags-shod 'Bri-ru in 'Bri-ru County, located along the Salween to the east of Nag-chu, and may overlap with the northern border of Sum-pa's Horn, Nags-shod Gzi-'phrang. Similarly, DUNG-DKAR (2002: 2044) places this area in nearby Sog County.

The catalogues of the generals, sub-commanders, horn horses, horn banners, insignia of rank and 'martial metaphors' (*dmag gi bzhed*), aside from being fascinating, allow us to date the catalogues of thousand-districts found in *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK*. This is due to the fact that they mention some very famous figures in imperial Tibetan history whose careers are known from Old Tibetan sources. I will review these features below in comparing the catalogues of *Lde'u, KhG* and *BK*.

Table 97: Generals, Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Sub-commanders, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Branch Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***BK*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Upper Branch Horn's General** | 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge | 'Bro Rgyal-mtshan Seng-ge | 'Bro Rgyal Seng-ge |
| **Upper Branch** | Cream with a red | Cream with a red | Cream with sacred |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Horn's Horse** | crest (*ngang-pa phud-dmar*) | crest (*ngang-pa phud-dmar*) | red (*ngang-pa 'phrul-dmar*) |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Banner** | A white lion standing and holding aloft in the heavens | White lion leaping into the sky | A white lion standing and holding aloft in the heavens |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | Gnam-te Gu-ru-tshab | Gnam-sde Gur-tshab | Snang-stag Byu-ru Mtshal |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Insignia** | Copper | | Copper Insignia |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Martial Metaphor** | | | 'Spread like crystal divination pebbles' (*shel gyi mo rdel bkram pa 'dra*) |
| **Upper Branch Horn's Head Count** | | | 360,000 |
| **Lower Branch Horn's General** | Grandpa Khyung-po with the Turquoise Top-knot | Khyung-po Turquoise Top-knot (G.yu'i zur-phud) | 'Dre Rgyal-to-re Khri-lod |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Horse** | Russet (*rag-pa*) with a black tail | Russet (*rag-pa*) with a black tail | Cream with a black mane |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Banner** | Black flag (*dpal-dar nag-po*) | Black flag | White flag, covering the plains (*dar-dkar thang-'gebs*) |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Sub-commander** | 'Chims Can-bzher Lha-gzigs | Mchims Btsan-zher Lha-gzigs | Khyung-po Spu-sna zung |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Insignia** | Copper | | Turquoise Insignia |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'They come marching like a lion in snow' | 'They march [like] hail going through snow' | 'Like hail falling on the plains' |
| **Lower Branch Horn's Head Count** | | | 360,000 |

In introducing its catalogues of thousand districts, *BK* states, 'concerning the generals of the four horns at the time of fighting between China and Tibet, they were...' (*rgya bod 'thab dus ru bzhi'i dmag dpon la /*) (*BK*: 437). This is a rather vague manner of dating the catalogue, since China and Tibet were often at war with each

other. As will be demonstrated below, however, some of the generals mentioned in the catalogues allow them to be dated to before the year 763. Therefore *BK*'s reference to fighting between Tibet and China probably relates to Tibet's invasion of Western China in the wake of the An lu shan Rebellion.

The order followed within the catalogues themselves is nearly the same in *Lde'u* and *BK*. *Lde'u* only diverges from this usual order in its catalogue of Branch Horn, but I have readjusted this according to the order of the catalogues that follow. The original order may be seen in the translation above. *KhG* follows a different order entirely, placing the sub-commander before the horn horse and horn banner. Again, this has been readjusted to accord with the order in *Lde'u* and *BK*, though the original order is evident in the translation.

While *Lde'u* and *KhG* are often in close agreement, *BK*'s catalogue differs significantly in places. In the case of the sub-commander of Upper Branch Horn, *BK*'s Snang-stag Byu-ru Mtshal is apparently an error for Gnam-te Gu-ru-tshab (*Lde'u*). Also, *BK* names Khyung-po Spu-sna zung as the sub-commander of Lower Branch Horn. This is an obvious error for Khung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse, a famous minister who served both Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan and Srong-btsan Sgam-po. His inclusion in this catalogue, however, is laughable, since this minister was active in the first half of the seventh century. On the other hand, *BK* names 'Dre Rgyal-to-re Khri-lod as the general of Lower Branch Horn, and this is obviously not a variant or error for 'Grandpa Khyung-po with the Turquoise Top-knot' (*Lde'u*). This demonstrates that the tradition preserved in *BK* differs slightly from that found in *Lde'u* and *KhG*. This is also evident from *BK*'s inclusion of 'martial metaphors' for both upper and lower horns, where *Lde'u* and *BK* name only one metaphor for each horn. Further, though the numbers are so astronomical as to be disregarded, *BK* is the only known source

that contains a head count of the four horns. These numbers, however, are partially responsible for an influential theory by CHAB-SPEL (1989: 114), according to which each thousand-district contained ten thousand soldiers.

STEIN (1984: 264-66) noted the metaphoric language used to describe the horn banners and the martial metaphors. The language is indeed evocative, and has a close relationship with similar language found in Tibetan ritual traditions. In an Old Tibetan funerary text, for example, a discussion occurs between Gyim-po Nyag-gcig and the six Gyim-po brothers (Gyim-po spun drug) regarding the proper funeral rites (*shid*, *rmang*) for their father, Sten-rgan Nyer-pa. This concerns the proper types of sacrificial animals, in particular the beloved horse (*do-ma thugs-dags/ do-ma snying-dags*) and the psychopomp sheep (*skyibs-lugs*), which serve as guides to the land of the dead.[196] At one point the six Gyim-po brothers, who do not wish to carry out the funeral rites, say,

> By dyeing the banner red, it is like fire ranged on a marsh. Dyeing it white, being [like] snow and ice, it is white. Dyeing it black, the bird hovers magnificently. Therefore, let not our father's funeral be completed.[197] (*dar dmar po btsos gyis spang po zhugs gyis gral go lta dar dgar*[198] *po btsos gyis kha bo*[199] *gangs pas dkar ma nag btsos gyis bya slang*[200] *nge lding 'on gyang pha'i shid ma thengs*) (IOL Tib J 731, ll. 16-18; *AFL*: 17, 29).

It is impossible to say whether or not this ritualistic language had a direct or indirect influence on the language and metaphors found in the military catalogues. It is significant, however, that the horn banner (*ru-dar*), like so many other imperial traditions from early Tibet, was adopted as part of the wrathful pantheon, where it is

[196] For more on the beloved horse (*do-ma thugs-dags/ do-ma snying-dags*) and the sacrificial sheep (*skyibs-lugs*) that guide the deceased to the land of the dead, see STEIN 1970: 168-69.
[197] On the grammatical structure of this final phrase, see ZEISLER 2004: 440.
[198] Read *dkar*.
[199] Read *ba*.
[200] Read *lhang*.

often seen as an implement of protector deities or as an implement in a protectors' temple (*mgon-khang*).[201]

The precise meaning of the term horn horse is not entirely clear. DUNG-DKAR (2002: 1918) believes that it refers to the general's horse, and that its markings allowed the regiment to be recognised from a distance. Another possibility is that it refers to a certain breed of horse that was employed by the entire regiment, and indeed *BK* often uses the term 'cavalry mount' (*dmag-rta*) as an alternate designation. This seems unlikely, however, given the highly specific markings described in the text. It seems more likely that, as Dung-dkar surmised, the horse belonged to the general or served as some sort of regimental mascot. The association of the horse with territory is attested in PT 1060, an Old Tibetan ritual text that concerns horses, and which contains a catalogue of thirteen kingdoms that includes rulers, strongholds, ministers, subject territories (*khol*) and horses.[202] There are also well-known Indian precedents, such as the *aśvamedha*, where the horse plays a prominent role within the ritual of warfare, although their relation to these horn horses is distant at best.

Likewise, the role of the 'sub-commander' is uncertain. *BK* refers to him as a 'horn protector' (*ru sgab-pa*), and in *Lde'u* and *KhG* he is called a *dpa'-zla*, meaning 'hero's match'. This might be grounds for viewing him as a champion warrior. An Old Tibetan document concerning the order of rank in Sha-cu, PT 1089, may offer some insight into the nature of this post. In this document, there are several officials, usually Chinese, known as *stong-zla*, who serve under the heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*), who are usually Tibetan (LALOU 1955: 208). In this case they appear to be a subordinate second-in-command on the thousand-district level. By analogy, the

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201 BELLEZZA (2005: 187-88) makes similar, brief observations regarding this catalogue.
202 For more on this catalogue, see DOTSON 2003: 16-19.

*dpa'-zla* seems to be the second-in-command at the horn level—or at least at the level of the upper or lower half of a given horn.

The meaning of the 'martial metaphor' (*dmag gi bzhed/ dmag-bzhed*) is also somewhat elusive. DUNG-DKAR (2002: 1626) explains this as the shape of a troop encampment and the marching formation, while STEIN (1984: 265) translates this term as 'image poétique'. The latter seems more likely, as it is hard to imagine just how these evocative phrases would translate into marching formations.

Insignia (*yig-tshang/ yi-ge*) will be treated in some detail below, in {3.3.5}. Suffice it to say that they are insignia of rank that employ precious metals according to a gradated system of social stratification.

Table 98: Generals, Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Sub-commanders, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Right Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***BK*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Upper Right Horn's General** | Ancestor of the royal six districts (*sde*) of Lho-yo, Khyung-po Stag-bzang Snya-stong | Khyung-po Stag-bzang stong | Rgyal-ba Ye-shes de drug Mes-po Khyung-po Stag-zangs Snyang-stod |
| **Upper Right Horn's Horse** | White socks, with sparks (*mtshal-lu me-stag*) | White socks, with sparks (*mtshal-bu me-stag*) | White socks, with sparks (*mtshal-lu me-stag*) |
| **Upper Right Horn's Banner** | A hoisted black flag with a white centre, with a drawing of a *khyung* bird | Black flag with a white centre, with a drawing of a *khyung* bird | Black, like a lake |
| **Upper Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Spa-tshab Mtsho-bzher Rtsang-lod | Pa-tshab Mtsho-zher Tsad-lod | Pa-tshab Mtsho-bzher |
| **Upper Right Horn's Insignia** | Copper | | Copper Insignia |
| **Upper Right Horn's Martial Metaphor** | | | Spread like a stem of coral |
| **Upper Right Horn's Head Count** | | | 350,000 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Lower Right Horn's General** | Mgos Khri-snyen Gsang-mchod | Mgos Khri-gnyen G.yang-'phyos | Mgos Khri-bsnyon Dpal-mo |
| **Lower Right Horn's Horse** | Grey (*sngon-po*) turquoise horse | Grey (*sngon-po*) turquoise horse | Grey, cut through with turquoise (*sngon-po g.yu gshog*) |
| **Lower Right Horn's Banner** | Pale yellow with striped borders (*skyer-ka [kha] gong-khra*) | Pale yellow with striped borders (*skyer-kha gong-khra*) | Lion with a resplendent mane (*seng-ge gong bkra*) |
| **Lower Right Horn's Sub-commander** | Lang-pa Mgon-ne | Lang-pa Mgon-ne | Langs-pa Mgon-bu |
| **Lower Right Horn's Insignia** | Copper | | Copper Insignia |
| **Lower Right Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'They come like fire burning an alpine meadow' | 'They marched like fire burning an alpine meadow' | 'Like fire burning an alpine meadow' |
| **Lower Right Horn's Head Count** | | | 350,000 |

There is almost full agreement here in the three main sources concerning the catalogues of Right Horn, the exception being *BK*'s divergent horn banners. The generals and sub-commanders are otherwise unknown.

Table 99: Generals, Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Sub-commanders, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Central Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***BK*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Upper Central Horn's General** | Sna-nam Rgyal-rta, the 'little old lady' (Rgan-mo-chung) | Sna-nam Rgyal-rgan | 'Little old lady' Sna-nam |
| **Upper Central Horn's Horse** | Pale horse with a white mane | Pale horse with a white mane | White mane teased by the wind (*ze-dkar rlung bskyod*) |
| **Upper Central Horn's Banner** | Reddish green (*spang-ma dmar-po*) with white streamers (*lce*), faded (*yal-ba*), called 'red with multi-colored streamers' | Red with multi-coloured streamers (*lce*) | A red flag with fiery white streamers (*lce*) |
| **Upper Central Horn's Sub-** | Gnon 'Phan-gsum 'Gron-po-skyes | Gnon 'Phan-gsum | Gnon 'Dang-gsum 'Gron-skyes |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **commander** | | | |
| **Upper Central Horn’s Insignia** | Copper | | Copper Insignia |
| **Upper Central Horn’s Martial Metaphor** | | | ‘Like a wild yak descending on the herd’ |
| **Upper Central Horn’s head count** | | | 370,000 |
| **Lower Central Horn’s General** | Dbas Skye-bzang Stag-snang | Sbas Skyes-bzang Stag-snang | Dbas Skye-bzang Stag-snang |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Horse** | White socks (*mtshal-lu*) with leopard spots | Vermillion with leopard spots | White socks with leopard spots |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Banner** | Red flag | Red flag (*dpal-dar*) | Black-maned lion |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Sub-commander** | Shud-pu Khu-ring Khong-btsan | Shud-bu Khod-btsan | Shud-pu Khong-'bring Tsong-btsan |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Insignia** | *vacat* | | *vacat* |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Martial Metaphor** | ‘They come like darkness falling on a lake’ | ‘Like snow falling on a lake’ | ‘Like darkness falling on a lake’ |
| **Lower Central Horn’s Head Count** | | | 370,000 |

Here again, *BK*’s catalogue differs slightly from the others, as when it states that Lower Central Horn’s banner is not a red flag, but a black-maned lion.

Many of the generals and sub-commanders go by self-deprecating names. For instance, *'gron-po-skyes* in the name of the sub-commander of Upper Central Horn, Gnon 'Phan-gsum 'Gron-po-skyes, means ‘born from a guest or merchant’. Likewise, the general of Upper Central Horn is called ‘Little Old Lady Sna-nam Rgyal-rta’. In such names it is tempting to catch a scent of authenticity.

The general of Lower Central Horn, Dbas Skye-bzang Stag-snang, is a well-known figure whose inclusion here aids in dating these catalogues. He was a famous general who participated in activities leading up to the Tibetan sack of the Chinese

capital in 763. The entry in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the ox year 761 states 'Minister Skyes-bzang and others sacked both Mkhar-tsan Ba-mgo and Ke'u-shan' (*blon skyes bzang las stsogs pas / khar tsan ba mgo dang ke'u shan gnyIs phab /*) (Or 8212, l. 44; *DTH*: 58, 65). The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* also mentions Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang in its narration of the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital:

> The lord and ministers conferred and Zhang Mchims Rgyal-zigs and others sacked the Chinese stronghold of King-shI and appointed as lord of China Gwang-bu Hwang-te. As good and desired rewards, they bestowed in perpetuity (forever and always) the small turquoise insignia. Dba's Skyes-bzang Stag-snang met in battle the Chinese general Hon-dze-sangs at 'Gu'-log-sgang and massacred many Chinese. 'Gu'-log was then called 'Chinese Cemetery'. (*zhang mchims rgyal zIgs la stsogs pas rgya 'I mkhar king shI phab ste / rgya rje gwang bu hwang te bskos so / / legs pa zhin pa 'i bya dga' / g.yu 'I yi ge chu ngu nam nam zhar zhar byin no / / dba's skyes bzang stag snang gis / / rgya 'I dmag pon hon dze sangs dang / 'gu' log sgang du g.yul sprad nas / rgya mang po bthungs ste / 'gu' log rgya dur du btags'o / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 376-80; *DTH*: 114, 153).

Minister Skyes-bzang Stag-snang is also named in Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict, preserved in *KhG*. He appears there as the first of the 'governors and generals of the upper and lower regions' (*stod smad kyi dbang po dang dmag dpon*) (*KhG*: 373). This edict most likely dates to some time shortly after the completion of Bsam-yas Monastery in the sheep year 779. Sbas Skyes-bzang Stag-snang therefore served as a general for at least two decades.

Table 100: Generals, Horn Horses, Horn Banners, Sub-commanders, Insignia, Martial Metaphors and Head Counts of Left Horn.

| | ***Lde'u*** | ***KhG*** | ***BK*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Upper Left Horn's General** | Myag Stag-gzig G.yu-btsan | Myang Stag-gzigs G.yu-btsan | Myag Stag-bzang G.yu-brtan |
| **Upper Left Horn's Horse** | Brownish-yellow haze (*mog-ro bun-bun*) | Brownish-yellow haze (*mog-ro bun-bun*) | Brownish-yellow haze (*snag gi bya ma zho cig*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Banner** | Red lion | Red lion | A facing lion |
| **Upper Left Horn's** | G.yas Mang-bzhar | G.yas Mang-bzher | Zhang Ma-bzhengs |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Sub-commander** | Lhos-chung | | Stos-chung |
| **Upper Left Horn's Insignia** | Copper | | Copper |
| **Upper Left Horn's Martial Metaphor** | | | 'Coming forth like lead rungs on a ladder' (*zha-nye'i them-bu brdol-ba 'dra*) |
| **Upper Left Horn's Head Count** | | | 350,000 |
| **Lower Left Horn's General** | 'Chims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting | Mchims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting | Mchims Rin-cen Rgyal-gzigs |
| **Lower Left Horn's Horse** | White socks (*mtshal-lu*) | White socks | Honeybee protecting the turquoise (*sbrang-ma g.yu 'phyong*) |
| **Lower Left Horn's Banner** | White flag with a black centre | White flag with a black centre | Five-fold adornment (*sna-lnga mdzes-pa*) |
| **Lower Left Horn's Sub-commander** | So-gad Gnyan-bzhar Lha-klu | So-gad Gnyan-bzher | Lho Stag-chu Khri-gzigs |
| **Lower Left Horn's Insignia** | *vacat* | | Copper Insignia |
| **Lower Left Horn's Martial Metaphor** | 'They come like a gentle rain falling on a lake' | 'Marching (*'grim*) like a gentle rain falling on a lake' | 'Like pigeons descending on fodder' |
| **Lower Left Horn's Head Count** | | | 350,000 |

*BK*'s catalogue diverges significantly in places from the other two. Its catalogue of Lower Left Horn is almost entirely different from those of *Lde'u* and *KhG*, once again demonstrating that it likely derives from a separate source.

The catalogues' inclusion of 'Chims Rgyal-gzigs Shud-ting as general of Lower Left Horn provides another key for dating these catalogues. This is of course the famous general who participated in the Tibetan sack of the Chinese capital in 763. He is mentioned in this connection in the south face inscription on the Zhol Pillar (l. 57; LI AND COBLIN 1987: 143, 158; RICHARDSON 1985: 12-13), and also in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s narration of the same events, translated above. Entries in the *Old*

*Tibetan Annals* for the years 762 and 763 mention him in this connection (*DTH*: 59-60, 65-66). The entry for the hare year 763 records promotions and transferrals made after the generals' triumphant return. It states, 'Zhang [Mchims-rgyal] Rgyal-zigs [Shu-theng] was bestowed with the great turquoise insignia and praised for saying he was content with the rank of Mgar 'dzi-rmun' (*zhang rgyal zigs chen pho g.yu'I yi ge stsalde / mgar 'dzi rmun gyi thang du chog shesu bstod //*) (Or 8212, ll. 59-60; *DTH*: 60, 66). From the edict of Khri Srong-lde-btsan preserved by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag, it appears that Mgar-'dzi-rmun is the highest rank among ministers of the interior. In the list of those who swore to the edict, which likely dates to *circa* 779, the first of the ministers of the interior (*nang-blon*) is Minister Gra-'dzi Zhang Rams-shags (*blon gra 'dzi zhang rams shags*) (*KhG*: 372). Having initially read this as simply a peculiar name, I am inclined now to read this as 'the Gra-'dzi/ Mgar-dzi-rmun minister, Zhang ['Bro Khri-zu] Rams-shags'.[203] This indicates that Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng ended his tenure as general in 763, just after the sack of the Chinese capital. The above catalogues, therefore, likely do not post-date this year. Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng would go on to become prime minister, and is named as such in Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict (*KhG*: 372). According to the *Tang Annals*, he was dismissed from this post in 782 (BUSHELL 1880: 487; *TBH*: 351, n. 1118).

Based on the mention of Dbas Skyes-bzang Stag-snang and Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng as horn generals in these catalogues, it is possible to date them to any time between the reorganisation of the horns in 744, and Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng's promotion in 763. However, the period leading up to the sack of the Chinese capital recommends itself as the most likely date for these catalogues.

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[203] This rank may have developed from the personal name of one of Tibet's prime ministers, Mgar Khri-sgra 'DzI-rmun, who, according to the succession of prime ministers in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, served between Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab and Myang Mang-po-rje Zhang-snang (PT 1287, ll. 79-83; *DTH*: 100-101, 130). This places him in the first half of the seventh century.

Based on the above analysis, it is possible now to review Tibet's traditions of thousand-districts. As noted already, the catalogues of thousand-districts in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* predate the reorganisation of the horns in 744. The tradition preserved in *Lde'u* and *KhG*, however, dates to between this reorganisation in 744 and the year 763, when Tibet's generals returned victorious from their sack of the Chinese capital. This demonstrates the nature of the source material for the *Section on Law and State*: it consisted of administrative catalogues compiled and updated throughout the imperial period. The catalogues preserved in *BK*, which agree in places with the earlier tradition of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, but mostly follow the later tradition of *Lde'u* and *KhG*, represent a hybrid between the two traditions. It is interesting to note that *BK*, like *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, does not include in its catalogue the royal guard thousand-districts of the four directions. This might imply that the royal guard was not created until the period reflected in the catalogues of *Lde'u* and *KhG*, and further implies that *BK*'s catalogue, while post-dating the reorganisation of the horns in 744, pre-dates those of *Lde'u* and *KhG*. The catalogue of the seven wise men at {3.8.3} explicitly states that Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag, who served as prime minister between 763 and c.775, created the royal guard regiments. Mgos obviously would have accomplished this feat before his appointment as prime minister in 763. The same catalogue, however, also claims that Mgos 'created' numerous traditions that he in fact only revised. This suggests, however, that he was also instrumental in the reorganisation of the thousand-districts. In the case of the royal guard, however, the *Old Tibetan Annals* reveal that this structure existed by the snake year 708.

> [Dba's] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Mkhris-pha tang, and they took account of the red tally of the royal guards. (*dbyar 'dun mkhrIs pha tang du blon chen po khrI gzigs gyIs bsduste / sku srungs gyI khram dmar pho brtsIs /*) (IOL Tib J 750, ll. 115-16; *DTH*: 20, 41-42).

It is evident, therefore, that Mgos did not create the royal guard regiments. Their omission in *BK* therefore remains unexplained. As with so many other aspects of the Tibetan Empire, there is a parallel here with Tang history. The Chinese equivalent of the royal guard was ancient, dating back to the Jin (265-420CE), and was significantly reorganised in 722 as a professional army exempt from tax and corvée. This measure was taken because the emperor was unable to travel to Tai shan due to the fact that the conscripts forming his guard were in a constant state of flux, and could not provide a sufficient royal guard for his travel and protection (DES ROTOURS 1947: xlv-vi). It is unclear whether or not Mgos' reforms were inspired by this Chinese reorganisation.

A further objection to Mgos as the author of the royal guard regiments is that they are mentioned in the abbreviated *Section on Law and State* in the *La dwags rgyal rabs* (27), which relates this to the reign of the first Tibetan emperor, Gnya'-khri Btsan-po: 'The royal guard regiments protected the emperor. The men of the forty-four thousand-districts defeated external enemies' (*sku srung sde bzhis sku srungs/ rgod stong [ldong] sde mi bzhi bcu rtsa bzhis ni phyi'i dgra 'dul/*) (*LDGR*: 27). URAY (1972a: 64) claimed that this tradition, with its forty-eight total thousand-districts, could 'be ascertained from other sources, and corresponds to the situation prior to the reorganisation of 743'. He further stated that he would describe this in detail in his work in preparation, which unfortunately never appeared. Considering his statement, however, one might assume that he meant that this tradition corresponds to *Ne'u*, which lists forty-seven thousand-districts. This number, however, does not include four royal guard thousand-districts. It is more likely that Uray noted the similarity between the tradition in the *LDGR* and that preserved in *GK*.

The relevant passage appears in *GK* just before its enumeration of the sixteen districts (*yul-sde*) of each horn. As noted above, this part of *GK* is particularly

intriguing because of U-rgyan Gling-pa's statement that chapters sixteen and seventeen were copied faithfully from an 'old original written with a metal pen' (*dpe rnying lcags smyug gis bris pa zhig la le'u 'di dang bcu bdun pa gnyis 'dug pa ltar bris*) (*GK*: 183). The passage is as follows:

> In the realm of Tibet, the thousand-districts are generally a treasury. The three thousand-districts for the affairs of the king and his entourage, two thousand-districts commanded by Left Horn, the five thousand-districts under the political authority and command of Central Horn and the seven thousand-districts commanded by Right Horn and Left [Branch] Horn[204] form the eighteen thousand-districts, the basis of Tibet.
>
> Beyond those the divisions of thousand-districts were as follows: the four thousand-districts on the border of Tibet and Mon were attached to the orders of the troops of the thousand-districts of Lower Mdo-khams, and stationed in Stod-lung. Those who protect the borders of the thousand-districts on the border of Tibet and China were attached to the orders of the Sum-pa tribes, and appointed to manage the borders in the land of Mi-nyag.
>
> The thousand-districts first conquered the four horns of Tibet, then the four horns of Tibet conquered the four directions and the four borders. During the reign of the king, he gathered the polity under his dominion. As for the territories of king of Tibet's thousand-districts, and an enumeration of the men of the cultivated areas in the districts, Upper Zhang-zhung had thirteen thousand-districts, and in the lower region, Sum-pa had thirteen thousand-districts. The armies of the directions offered on the borders of China.[205]
> (*bod khams stong sde spyi yi dkor mdzod yin: rgyal po'i 'phrin las sku 'khor stong sde gsum: stong sde gnyis la g.yon ru'i bka' btags dang: chab 'og bka' btags dbu ru'i stong sde lnga: g.yas ru g.yon ru [ru lag] bka' btags stong sde bdun: stong sde bco brgyad bod khams gzhi ma'i sa: de yi phyi rim stong sde'i sde tshan la: mon bod mtshams kyi stong sde bzhi rnams ni: mdo khams smad kyi stong sde ru pa rnams: bka' la btags nas la stod lung par bzhag: rgya bod mtshams kyi stong sde'i so srungs rnams: sum pa'i mi sde bka' la btags nas ni: mi nyag yul du so mtshams gnyer la bskos: stong sde dang po bod khams ru bzhi btul: bod khams ru bzhi phyogs bzhi mtshams bzhi btul: rgyal po'i ring du chab srid mnga' ru bsdus: bod khams rgyal po'i stong sde'i sa khul ni: yul gyi mi la mi sde'i grangs btab pa: stod kyi zhang zhung stong sde bcu gsum yod: smad na sum pa stong sde bcu gsum yod: phyogs su dmag gis rgya yi mtha' la phul:*) (*GK*: 184-85; CHANDRA 1982: 232; *kha*, 64b, ll. 1-5).

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204 Left Horn (G.yon ru) is mentioned twice, but its second mention in fact indicates Branch Horn. An investigation of the passage that follows in *GK* concerning the administrative districts (*yul-sde*) reveals that *GK* (185) refers to Branch Horn (Ru-lag) as 'Left Division-Branch Division' (G.yon ru Ru-lag). It might be assumed, therefore, that the catalogue has simply omitted *ru-lag* from the intended form of *g.yon ru ru lag*. Cf. *supra* {3.3.1a}.

205 This is an odd sentence, and it is tempting to correct the final verb, 'offer' (*phul*) to 'defeat' (*'dul*). In this case, the preceding *la* would have to be ignored as being only for metrical value.

This passage splits Tibet's thousand-districts into two main parts: the eighteen thousand-districts of the four horns, and those outside of the four horns. The former, which in fact add up to seventeen, will be described in relation to the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power at {3.7.5}. Turning to those thousand-districts outside of the four horns, the passage mentions two groups that were transferred. These are the four thousand-districts on the border of Tibet and Mon, which were transferred to Stod-lung, and those on the border of Tibet and China, which were transferred to Mi-nyag. There is no mention of how many thousand-districts comprised the latter group. While these two groups are unknown in other catalogues of thousand-districts, the passage closes by enumerating the more traditional thousand-districts of Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa. It differs again from other traditions, however, in that it states that Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa contained thirteen thousand-districts each. Tallying the eighteen thousand-districts of the four horns, the thirteen thousand-districts of Zhang-zhung and the thirteen of Sum-pa, this makes forty-four thousand-districts. If the otherwise unattested four thousand-districts from the border of Tibet and Mon are counted, then this makes forty-eight. This corresponds almost perfectly with *LDGR*'s tradition of forty-four thousand-districts; the only difference is that while *LDGR* adds the four royal guard thousand-districts to this tally, *GK* adds the four thousand-districts from the border with Mon.

Having now determined that *LDGR* and *GK* contain more or less the same tradition of thousand-districts, it remains to be determined whether or not Uray's placement of this tradition in the first three decades of the eight century, or even in the latter half of the seventh century, can be accepted. The horns in *GK*'s catalogue are even less balanced than they are in *Jo sras and Ne'u*, suggesting an even earlier date.

Further, the eighteen thousand-districts of Tibet partly correspond to the eighteen shares of power, which, as we will argue at {3.7.5}, likely date to the latter half of the seventh century. It is also intriguing that while *Jo sras* refers to the Horn of Sum-pa, *GK* refers to the thousand-districts of Sum-pa itself. This also suggests an early date, since Sum-pa's Horn was not created until the tiger year 702:

> Khu Mang-po-rje Lha-zung and Minister Mang-rtsan Ldong-zhi convened the Mdo-smad winter council at Nam-ldong Prom and made the great administration of Sum-ru. (*mdo smad gyI dgun 'dun nam ldong prom du khu mang po rje lha zung dang / blon mang rtsan ldong zhIs bsduste / sum ru'I mkos chen po bgyIs /*) (IOL Tib J 750, ll. 89-90; *DTH*: 18-19, 40).

The tradition preserved in *GK* and *LDGR* therefore likely predates the year 702.

While *Ne'u* is almost identical with *Jo sras*, it includes a catalogue of nine thousand-districts of 'the land of Sum-pa' (*sum-pa'i yul*). It is therefore also possible to argue that the tradition of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* predates the creation of Sum-pa's Horn in 702, but, given *Jo sras*' reference to Sum-pa's Horn, this is unlikely.

To conclude, the catalogues in *LDGR, GK, Jo sras, Ne'u, BK, Lde'u* and *KhG* preserve four separate traditions of Tibet's territorial organisation into thousand-districts. *LDGR* and *GK* reflect the beginnings of this tradition, and likely predate the creation of Sum-pa's Horn in 702. *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* contain a tradition that dates between 702 and the reorganisation of the horns in 744. *Lde'u* and *KhG* present catalogues of thousand-districts that have been balanced by this reorganisation, and date to between 744 and 763, but most likely to the years 758-763 leading up the sack of the Chinese capital. The tradition preserved in *BK*, while it most closely resembles that of *Lde'u* and *KhG*, also contains several elements in common with *Jo sras* and *Ne'u*, and therefore likely dates to a period shortly after the reorganisation, between 744 and c.758.

## Introduction {3.3.2}

The second measure included in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the nine *bkra* and the nine *che*. As noted above, the outline in *Lde'u* at {3.2.2} enumerates three groups of nine *bkra*, but catalogues only one group, the nine *bkra* of wooden slips. These will be compared with a nearly identical catalogue in *KhG*, found not in the *Section on Law and State*, but further along in its narrative. The translation of *bkra* is extremely hesitant, which is why the term is left untranslated. The nine great ones—nine distinguished ministers—will be considered in their turn.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.2a}: the Nine *Bkra*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.2a}

As for the nine *bkra*, they were called the nine clear wooden slips (*byang-bu dgu bkra*): the rebuke slip (*byang-gzas*), the good undefiled (*zang-yag*), the striped middle (*sked-khra*), the snake head, the black hole, the swallow (*mchu-snyung*), the drawing-out slip (*then-byang*), the red notch (*kha-dmar*), and the seal slip (*rgya-byang*).

Concerning three slips, they are generally legal slips. Five are complainants' (*blo-yus*) slips.[206] One is used for everything (*kun la rgyug-pa*).

As for the three legal slips, they are the good undefiled (*zang-yag*), the striped middle (*sked-khra*), and the red-notched (*kha-dmar*). The seal slip is used for everything.

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[206] The term *blo-yus* is evidently a synonym for *yus-bdag*, meaning complainant or plaintiff.

As for the five slips that are complainants' (*blo-yus*) slips, they adhere to the five stages in a lawsuit [catalogued at] the five *na* [infra, {3.3.6b}]. At the time when the virtuous law of blood money (*mi-stong*) [is settled], they write the insignia of rank, compensation price (*stong-thang*), punishment, charge and so forth of the one faced with the charge (*shags kyi mgo rgyangs*). As for [the slip] sending that to the legal court (*zhal-lce'i gra ru sring-ba*), it is called the rebuke slip (*byang-gzas*). The slip of the [opposing] testimony that, in reply, rejects (*skur-ba*) [the testimony] is called the snake head. The subsequent testimonial slips in reply are called black hole. At that time, concerning the complainants' (*blo-yus*) testimonies, [they are allowed] not more than three arguments (*gtan-tshigs*). At the time that the law of separating relatives (*gnyen bye bral*) [from guilt by association] is settled, [the slip] sending that to the legal court is called the drawing-out slip (*then-byang*). The one faced with the charge writes about whatever strong denials and strategies [for resolution] (*snyon stobs dang dgra thabs*) there are. At the time that the law of the jurors exposes falsehood (*snyon-rtol dkar-ma'i zhal-lce*), the name of the slip sending that to the legal court is called the 'swallow' (*mchu-snyung*).[207] These are the five complainants' slips.

As for the three legal slips, the good undefiled (*zang-yag*) adheres to the testimony of the complainant (*blo-yus*), and states that he is honest. The striped middle (*sked-khra*) [slip] judges the lawsuit as false, and states that the complainants'

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[207] Translating the phrase as it appears, *snyon rtol dkar-ma'i zhal-lce* would mean 'the law/trial of truth exposing falsehood'. The word *dkar*, however, is found in an Old Tibetan legal document in connection with what appear to be jurors, specifically, twelve people who, under oath, decide the fate of the accused. In fact, they decide whether or not his denial of guilt (*snyon-snyon*) is true or false (PT 1071, ll 10-15). This leads me to suspect that the correct reading of this passage is *snyon rtol dkar-mi'i zhal-lce*, or 'the law/trial by which the "jurors" expose falsehood'. This reading is confirmed by *KhG*, whose passage reads *dkar mi'i zhal-lce* (*KhG*, 378). The translation of *mchu-snyung* as 'swallow' is tentative. Though this could indicate some feature of the small bird, it may well be a contraction of a legal term such as *zhal-mchu snyung-ba*, meaning 'diminutive/ reduced law or sentence'.

wealth is to be confiscated. The red-notched (*kha-dmar*) slip states that instructions are attached (*kha-dmar 'dogs*). Those are the three slips.

As for the seal slip, a good seal is applied to all criminal faults and errors, and causes them to be purified. It is called the seal slip.

Those are the so-called 'nine *bkra*'.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.3.2a}**

*bkra dgu ni byang bu dgu bkra la bya ste/ byang gzas/ zang yag sked khra/ sbrul mgo/ dmig nag mchu snyung / then byang / kha dmar/ rgya byang ngo /*

*byang bu gsum ni zhal lce spyi'i byang bu/ lnga ni blo yus kyi byang bu/ gcig ni kun la rgyug pa'o/*

*zhal lce'i byang bu gsum ni/ zang yag sked khra/ kha dmar ro/ rgya byang ni spyir rgyug pa'o/*

*byang bu lnga ni blo yus kyi byang bu ste/ zhal lce na lnga dang sbyar/ mi stong dge'i zhal lce'i dus su/ shags kyi mgo rgyangs su yang / yig tshang dang / stong thang dang / chad pa bka' bkyon la sogs pa bris nas/ zhal lce'i gra ru sring ba de ni/ byang gzas zhes bya'o/ de'i lan shags kyi byang bu skur pa la sbrul mgo zhes bya/ yang lan la shags 'debs pa'i byang bu'i ming ni dmig nag zhes bya/ dus de tsa na blo yus kyi mchid shags la gsum las med pa'i gtan tshigs de yin/ gnyen bye bral gyi zhal lce byas pa'i dus su/ zhal lce'i gra ru sring ba'i ming ni then byang zhes bya/ shags kyi mgo rgyangs su'ang / snyon stobs dang dgra thabs ji ltar byung ba 'bri ba lags/ snyon rtol dkar ma'i zhal lce'i dus su/ zhal lce'i gra ru sring ba'i byang bu'i ming ni mchu snyung zhes bya ste/ blo yus kyi byang bu lnga'o/*

*zhal lce'i byang bu gsum ni/ zang yag bya ba blo yus kyi shags dang sbyar nas drang por gcod pa la zer ro/ sked khra ni zhal lce yon por gcod pa la zer te/ blo yus*

*kyi nor za ba la zer ro/ byang bu kha dmar ni kha dmar 'dogs pa la zer te/ byang bu gsum mo/*

*rgya byang ni nyes pa'i syon thams cad bzang po'i rgyas btab nas byang du 'jug pa la rgya byang zer ro/ de ni bkra dgu zhes bya'o/* (*Lde'u*: 261-63).

### ***KhG*** **{3.3.2a}**

At that time, Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag, the son of the prime minister, Mgos the elder, revised the earlier laws (*zhal-ce*), levels of compensation for death (*stong-thang*) and levels of compensation money for bodily harm (*gsos-thang*). Having revised them, he created the nine pairs of wooden slips (*byang-bu cha dgu*).

When a legal case deals with blood money and so forth, they write the insignia of rank, compensation price (*stong-thang*) and [statements of] truth (*bden-yus*) of the one faced with the charge (*shags kyi mgo rgyangs*). The [slip] sending that to the authority (*bla'i grar sring-ba*) is called the rebuke slip (*byang-gzas*). The slip in reply to that is [called] the snake head. The subsequent reply is called the black hole. Those three are the slips concerning compensation for death and compensation for bodily harm.

When a legal case deals with separating relatives (*gnyen bye bral*) [from guilt by association], the [slip] that is first sent [detailing] how they came to be friends and came to be enemies with regard to the defendant (*mgo-rgyangs*), is called the drawing-out slip (*then-byang*).

At the [stage in] legal case when the jurors expose falsehood, the slip sending this is called the ‘swallow’ (*mchu-snyung*). Generally, these are the five complainants’ slips.

The [slip] that adheres to the complainants' testimony, and finds it to be honest is called the good undefiled (*zang-yag*). The one that finds it false is called the striped middle (*sked-khra*). The slip that has attached instructions (*kha-dmar 'dogs-pa*) concerning [who is] right and wrong is called the red-notched (*kha-dmar*). Those are the three legal slips.

A good seal is applied to all criminal faults, and the one that purifies them is called the seal slip. It is the general-use slip.

### ***KhG* {3.3.2a}**

*de'i tshe blon chen mgos rgan gyi sras mgos khri bzang yab lhag gis sngar zhal ce dang gsos thang stong thang khrigs su bcad pa la khrigs su bcad nas byang bu cha dgur bcos te/ mi stong sogs kyi zhal ce'i dus shags kyi mgo rgyangs la yig tshangs stong thang bden yus dang bcas bris te bla'i grar sring ba la byang zas*[208] *zer/ de'i lan gyi byang bu la sbrul mgo/ yang lon la smig nag zer ste de gsum gsos dang stong gi byang bu'o/ gnyen bye bral gyi zhal ce'i dus gnyen sdebs dang dgra sdebs ji ltar byung ba'i mgo rgyangs dang bcas thog mar bsrings pa la then byang zer / smyon*[209] *thol dkar mi'i zhal ce'i dus srings pa la byang bu mchu smyung zer ste spyir blo yus kyi byang bu lnga'o / blo yus kyi shags dang sbyar nas drang por gcod pa la zang yag zer / yon por gcod pa la rked khra zer / bden rdzun gyi kha dmar 'dogs pa la byang bu kha dmar zer ste zhal ce'i byang bu gsum mo/ nyes pa'i skyon thams cad bzang po'i rgyas btab nas byang bar byed pa la rgya byang zer te spyir rgyug pa'i byang bu'o/* (*KhG*: 377-78; 112a, l. 7-112b, l. 4).

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[208] Read *gzas*.
[209] Read *snyon*.

## Analysis {3.3.2a}

Considering the composite nature of the *SLS* as a document containing catalogues that relate to various periods, the introduction mentioned that *KhG* placed some of the catalogues outside of the *SLS*. The present catalogue is one such example. It is found in *KhG*'s narrative in a chapter devoted to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan. *KhG* attributes these measures to Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag, whose appointment as prime minister is recorded in the *Old Tibetan Annals* entry for the hare year 763 (*DTH*: 59-60, 65-66). As mentioned above, his immediate successor, Mchims Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng, was dismissed in 782, and held office for at least a few years before dismissal. This being the case, it is evident that the catalogue should date to Mgos' tenure in office between 763 and c.775.

The text in *KhG* states that Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag created the nine pairs of wooden slips. This is because wooden slips consisted of two halves—the 'mother' (*ma*) and the 'child' (*bu*)—to create a sort of double-entry bookkeeping and a system of receipts. TAKEUCHI (2003, 2004) has examined imperial Tibet's system of wooden slips in some detail, and demonstrated how the slips were used to relay information, procure provisions and so forth. The use of such wooden slips in legal cases finds corroboration in a newly published Old Tibetan legal text, IOL Tib J 740 (2). Entitled 'Replies concerning the dice statutes from the tiger year dice edict', the text contains replies given to questions concerning various legal issues. These issues are spread out over eleven 'clauses,' or sets of questions and answers. The structure of each clause is the same: a question is submitted from the minister of the exterior (*phyi-blon*) to the judges of the court retinue (*pho-brang 'khor gyi zhal-ce-pa*), who report back with their decisions. The decisions issued from the judges of the court retinue most often

open with the phrase *kha-mar las* or *myig-mar las*, and this reveals that the medium through which these decisions were issued was a wooden slip. The 'red notch' (*kha-dmar*/ *kha-mar*) and 'red dot' (*mig-mar*) refer to the type of wooden slip in which instructions concerning judicial decisions were sent, and perhaps are even used metonymically to refer also to the information they contain and to the offices that issue them. While the catalogue of the nine *bkra* in the *SLS* does not mention a 'red dot' slip, it is evident that the red-notched slip mentioned in the catalogue is used only in cases where there is no clear verdict for or against a complainant, but a more nuanced decision, and this generally agrees with the slip's employment in IOL Tib J 740 (2).

This Old Tibetan legal document reveals that legal decisions were made by means of dice and with recourse to divination manuals. Here the technology of law and that of divination overlap completely. It is interesting to note in this connection that in Classical Tibetan the term *kha-dmar* most often indicates a divinatory prediction. It is quite possible that this meaning derived from the red-notched wooden slip used to relay legal verdicts. As with most other such borrowings between legal-administrative and ritual lexicons, however, it is difficult to judge with certainty which context preceded the other.

The catalogue of the nine *bkra* is amazing in that it enumerates the protocols of the various stages in a legal case. The preliminaries establish the social class of the accused and the plaintiff, and locate the case on the appropriate scale of punishment. Then it is decided how this case will affect the defendant's family. Only then is the case decided.

Apart from the use of wooden slips in legal cases, other aspects of the legal methods mentioned in the catalogue are also found in Old Tibetan legal texts and

legal fragments. The matter of blood money and compensation for injury is well-known in Old Tibetan law, but, as blood money is also mentioned immediately below at {3.3.2b}, I shall reserve a discussion of this tradition for the analysis of that catalogue.

The catalogue's mention of 'separating relatives' (*gnyen bye bral*) [from guilt by association], is also echoed in numerous Old Tibetan documents. The most well-known Old Tibetan legal document, PT 1071, contains a clause concerning guilt by association. This is the 'law of distinguishing according to insignia of rank' (*yi-ges 'bye-ba'i khrims*) the relatives of the accused. It states, 'the law will be applied to them according to whatever insignia of rank is attached' (*yi-ge ji la gtogs-pa khrims bzhin du bgyi'o*) (PT 1071, ll. 431-34). As I have written elsewhere, PT 1071 reveals in great detail the social stratification of the Tibetan Empire (DOTSON 2004: 81-82). According to this document, relatives of the ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-lon*) are ennobled by virtue of their kinship ties. A minister's father, grandfather, mother and grandmother hold the same insignia of rank as the minister.[210] Another group of relatives are ennobled not to the same status as the minister, but one tier below. These are:

> ...from the minister's non-ranking sons and their descendants (*bu-po-spad*) down to his patrilateral parallel cousins and their descendants (*pha-spun-spad*), along with the step-mother (*ma yar-mo*), daughter-in-law (*mna'-ma*), wife (*khyo-mo*) and unmarried daughters and sisters... (*bu po spad phan cad/ pha spun spad tshun cad/ yI ge ma mchis ba'I rnams/ dang ma yar mo dang/ bna' ma dang/ khyo mo dang/ bu sring khyo ma mchis pa dang/ 'di rnams/* ).[211]

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[210] On the extension of ministerial rank to kinsmen, see GNYA'-GONG 2003: 216.

[211] Cf. RICHARDSON 1998 [1990a]: 151. These kinship terms require some explanation, but a detailed investigation of their meaning and what they reveal about patterns of exchange in early Tibet would take this analysis too far from the matter at hand. Suffice it to say that *bu-po-spad* is not a lineage (*bu-tsha*), but a kindred, or more specifically, a patrilineal egocentric kin group descending from ego's generation and including his own male descendants, and that *pha-spun-spad* is patrilineal egocentric kin group descending from ego's own generation where it begins with his father's brothers' sons and extends to their descendants (FBSS/FBSC). Thus *pha-spun-spad* are genealogically further removed

A ministerial aristocrat's relatives were affected, both positively and adversely, by their relationship to him. This reveals the importance of a culture of nepotism and also suggests a high degree of clan, or at least lineage, solidarity. That some degree of lineage and clan solidarity did exist in the eyes of the law is evident from the fact that grants often explicitly protected one's innocent clansmen from charges brought against a criminal among them. Lines 61-65 of the north face of Zhol Pillar offer royal protection against this very practice:

> If one among the descendants [of Ngan-lam Zla-gong] becomes obviously disloyal, whoever is nearest will be investigated [concerning] the charges. Other clansmen will not be implicated and their lives and positions shall not be adversely affected. (*bu tsha rgyud pheld gyI nang nas la la zhig/ /btsan-po'i zha sngar glo ba rings yang dag par gyurd na gang nyes pa'I skor/ bka' gyod rma'o/ /pu nu po gzhan/ khrin la myI gdags srog srid la myI dbab par gnang ngo*).[212]

The necessity of including this phrase in the edict is further evidence that there existed a practice of guilt by association that had to be guarded against. Nearly the same clause is found in lines 37-40 of the west inscription at Zhwa'i Lha-khang:

> If one among Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong's descendants is disloyal to the emperor or the state, or commits another crime, whoever is guilty will be investigated. Other lineages [within the Myang] clan will not be investigated; they will not receive judicial punishment (*khrin*), the charge will not be extended to them and no harsh order made against them. (*snang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud/ la la zhIg gis sku dang chab srid la snyIng rings sam/ nyes pa gzhan*

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than *bu-po-spad*, and comprise a larger range of relatives, all of whom are more distant than one's own filial kindred (*bu-po-spad*) and patriline (*bu-tsha*). On the distinction between lineage and kindred, see FOX (1967: 67). The term *ma yar-mo*, often spelled *ma g.yar-mo* (lit. 'borrowed mother') indicates step-mother. While one might assume that this is most often due to a father's remarriage following the death of one's mother, it is odd that this should be so common as to be found in the standardised formula of a legal document such as PT 1071. It is more likely, therefore, that the term indicates generally a father's wife who is not one's birth mother. This would indicate, then, the practice of polygyny by the ministerial aristocracy. Further, this could be read as evidence of oblique marriage; one famous instance of which, relating to Srong-btsan Sgam-po, was discussed above at {1}. These kinship terms are also treated briefly in GNYA'-GONG 2003: 219-20.

[212] Cf. RICHARDSON 1985: 24-25; LI AND COBLIN 1987: 150, 173.

*zhIg byas na yang/ gang gIs nyes pa la rma/ phu nu bu tsha ma nyes gzhan la khrIn myi rma/ rgyod la myi gdags/ bka' nard myI mdzad*).[213]

This clause differs slightly from that found in the Zhol Pillar, as it explicitly distinguishes between one lineage of the Myang clan and another vis-à-vis the legal code. This may be implied in the Zhol Pillar when it states, 'whoever is nearest [to the guilty man] will be investigated'. This clause was written to protect Myang Ting-nge-'dzin's lineage from reprisals should one of his lateral relations run afoul of the law. This was particularly important, since the inscriptions record gifts made to the monk minister Myang Ting-nge-'dzin Bzang-po that were awarded retroactively to his grandfather, 'Dus-kong, in order to include a larger number of clansmen in the grants (DOTSON *forthcoming a*).

Returning to the present catalogue, the stage in the lawsuit where the jurors (*dkar-mi*) expose falsehood also has a clear precedent in Tibetan imperial law. In the case of the trials that follow hunting 'accidents' in the Old Tibetan legal document PT 1071, 'jurors' (*gtsang-dkar*) play a prominent role. Twelve jurors swear an oath, and are joined by one other, either the complainant or the accused, making thirteen who swear the oath. By employing this numeric formula of 12+1=13, the 'jurors' are marked off as an explicit microcosm of Tibetan society. In this case, it is the 'jurors' who decide the case, award the requisite blood money, and who appear to have the power to accept or reject any denials of guilt.

To conclude, while the various stages in a legal case, and their corresponding wooden slips, cannot be verified in Old Tibetan legal documents, the practices described are very much in keeping with imperial Tibetan legal practice. There is a great deal of continuity, however, between imperial Tibetan legal practice and post-

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[213] West Inscription, lines 37-40; cf. RICHARDSON 1985: 50-51; LI AND COBLIN 1987: 266, 278-79.

dynastic law, so this alone is insufficient to judge the reliability of the catalogue of the nine *bkra*. Neither, on the other hand, is it sufficient to demonstrate that the catalogue belongs to a post-dynastic legal tradition. This being the case, *KhG*'s claim that the measures date to the tenure of Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag as prime minister (763—c.775) should be tentatively accepted.

A laconic Old Tibetan catalogue, PT 1067, also mentions nine *bkra*: 'the nine *bkra*—tigers and leopards' (*bkra dgu dag stag tang gzigs*) (PT 1067, l. 9). Its contents, which are not enumerated, would seem to bear no relation to the catalogue of nine *bkra* in the *Section on Law and State*. It is interesting, however, that the structure of this catalogue—if not its contents—is in fact attested in Old Tibetan sources.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.2b}: the Nine *Che*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.2b}

As for the nine great ones, they are the nine ministers that carry out all tasks. The three great, mid-rank, and lesser high ministers (*dgung-blon)*, the three great, mid-rank, and lesser ministers of the interior, and three great, mid-rank, and lesser justices (*bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa*). Being greater than the other subjects, they are the nine great ones.

Concerning that, the duty of the great high minister is, like a husband, to deal with external affairs and to decide them wholly and completely (*phyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod*). The duty of the minister of the interior is, like a wife, to tend to internal affairs.

The justice is like a chosen mystic dagger (*bdams kyi phur-pa*).[214] To the good, he bestows gifts even on an enemy's son provided he has acted well, and to the wicked, he punishes even his own son if he is wicked.

As for the great high minister, he is peerless. If he is killed, the compensation (*stong-thang*), being eleven thousand, is great. His insignia of rank is large turquoise.

The mid-rank high minister and great minister of the interior have the same compensation price, ten thousand. Their insignia of rank is small turquoise.

The lesser high minister, mid-rank minister of the interior and great justice have the same compensation price, nine thousand. Their insignia of rank is large golden insignia.

The lesser minister of the interior and mid-rank justice both have a compensation price of eight thousand. Their insignia of rank is the small golden insignia.

The lesser justice has a compensation price of seven thousand. His insignia of rank is the highest gold-plated silver (*phra-men*) insignia.

Those are the nine *bkra* and the nine great ones.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.3.2b}**

*che dgu ni/ las thams cad kyi blon po dgu la bya'o/ dgung blon che 'bring chung gsum/ nang blon che 'bring chung gsum/ bka' yo 'gal 'chos pa chen po/ 'bring po/ chung ba gnyis*[215] *po de 'bangs gzhan pas che bas na/ che dgu'o/*

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[214] Alternatively, *bdams kyi phur-pa* may mean 'the mystic dagger/ pillar of a vow', or 'the mystic dagger/ pillar of counsel'.
[215] The editor corrects this to *gsum*.

*de la dgung blon chen po'i las thabs ni/ khyo dang 'dra ste phyi'i tshis byas nas phyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod pa'o/ nang blon gyi las thabs ni mo btsun dang 'dra ste/ nang gi tshis byed pa'o/*

*bka' yo 'gal 'chos pa ni bdams kyi phur pa dang 'dra ste/ legs na dgra'i bu legs kyang bya dga' gsol/ nyes na rang gi bu nyes kyang chad pa gcod pa'o/*

*dgung blon chen po ni 'gran gyi zla med pa ste/ bsad na stong thang [khri] chig stong yod de che'o/ yig tshangs g.yu'i yi ges*[216] *che'o/*

*dgung blon 'bring po/ nang blon chen po gnyis ni/ stong thang mnyam ste khri yod/ yig tshang g.yu'i yi ge chung ba'o/*

*dgung blon chung ba/ nang blon 'bring po bka' yo 'gal 'chos pa gsum ni stong thang dgu stong yod pa'o/ yig tshang gser gyi yi ge chen po'o/*

*nang blon tha chung dang yo 'gal 'chos pa 'bring po gnyis stong thang brgyad stong / yig tshang gser yig chung ba'o/ yo 'gal 'chos pa [chung ba] la stong thang bdun stong ngo / yig tshang 'phra*[217] *men gyi yi ge mtho'o/ de tsho bkra dgu che dgu'o/* (*Lde'u*: 263).

### *KhG* {3.3.2b}

Further, the three great, middle, and lesser high ministers (*gung-blon)*, the three ministers of the interior, and the three men of the judiciary (*yo-gal 'chos-pa'i mi*) make nine in all, and comprise the nine great ministers. The duty of the high minister is, like a husband, to manage external affairs wholly and completely (*phyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod*). The minister of the interior, like a wise woman, tends to internal affairs

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[216] Read *ge*.
[217] Read *phra*.

(*nang gi tshis*).[218] To the good, the judicial official bestows gifts even on an enemy's son provided he has acted well, and to the wicked, he punishes even his own son if he commits a crime. Those [comprise] the so-called [legal code of] Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, which is the first of the six official legal codes.

Furthermore, as the great high minister is peerless, if he is killed, the compensation (*stong-thang*) is eleven thousand.

The middling high minister and great minister of the interior being equal, [their compensation price is] ten thousand.

The lesser high minister, middling minister of the interior and great justice being equal, [their compensation price is] nine thousand.

The lesser minister of the interior and middling justice being equal, [their compensation price is] eight thousand.

The lesser minister (*bka'-blon*)[219] has a compensation price of seven thousand.

**_KhG_ {3.3.2b}**

*gzhan yang gung blon che 'bring chung gsum nang blon gsum bka' yo gal 'chos pa'i gsum ste dgu po la blon po che dgur mdzad ste dgung blon gyi las thabs khyo dang 'dra bar phyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod nang blon gyis bud med mdzangs ma ltar nang gi tshis byed/ /bka' yo gal 'chos pas legs na dgra'i bus legs kyang bya dga' gsol nyes na rang gi bus nyes kyang chad pas gcod pa'o/ /de rnams khri rtse 'bum bzher zhes bya ba/ / bka' yi khrims yig drug las dang po yin/* (*KhG*: 191; 21b, ll. 3-4)

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[218] On the meaning of *tshis/ chis* as 'affairs' or 'administration', see RICHARDSON 1998 [1969b] and IMAEDA 1980.
[219] 'Minister' (*bka'-blon*) is obviously an error for 'justice' (*bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa*).

*/de yang dgung blon chen po ni 'gran gyi zla med ste bsad na stong thang khri chig stong / dgung blon 'bring po dang nang blon chen po gnyis mnyam ste khri/ dgung blon chung ngu nang blon 'bring po bka' yo gal 'chos pa chen po gsum mnyam ste dgu stong nang blon tha chung dang bka' yo gal 'chos pa 'bring mnyam ste brgyad stong / bka' blon bchung ngu la bdun stong ngo / /* (*KhG*: 378; 112b, ll. 4-5).

**Analysis {3.3.2b}**

Again, *KhG*'s 'catalogue' underlines the composite nature of the *SLS*. While the catalogue is found as a whole in *Lde'u*'s double cycle of ten catalogues, *KhG* splits it into two parts. The first part, dealing with the nine ministers, is found in *KhG*'s exposition of the law of Khri-rtse Bum-bzher, the first of the six legal codes. This properly belongs to {3.6.1}, but is analysed here in the context of *Lde'u*'s double cycle of ten catalogues. The second part, dealing with blood money for slain ministers, is found immediately after *KhG*'s explanation of the use of wooden slips in legal cases. Thematically, this makes good sense, as one phase in the legal case concerns the amount of blood money or compensation money due according to the rank of the slain or injured man. As before, these measures are attributed to Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag, so we can date this catalogue to the same period as that of the nine *bkra* at {3.3.2a}.

*KhG* also includes a catalogue dealing with the insignia of rank of these nine ministers, which is found at {3.3.5}. The information in this catalogue is included in the tables below.

The tradition of nine great ministers mentioned in this catalogue has known Old Tibetan antecedents. As noted above in section {3.1.7}, Khri Srong-lde-btsan's

Bsam-yas Edict, preserved in *KhG*, lists nine great ministers attached to the council (*KhG*, 372), as does the Lhasa Treaty Inscription.[220] The latter lists the ranks of these nine ministers. The inscription is damaged, but it is evident that the first figure named is the monk Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan. The second has to do with military matters, and the fourth is a 'great high minister' (*gung-blon chen-po*). The last five are 'great political ministers' (*chab-srid kyi blon-po chen-po*). This suffices to demonstrate that the tradition in the above catalogue does not correspond with that in the Treaty Inscription regarding the ranks and duties of the nine great ministers.

The closest correspondence with the above catalogue is found in the *New Tang Annals*.[221] The preamble to the *New Tang Annals* enumerates nine great Tibetan ministers. Their titles, and even qualifiers such as 'great', 'mid-rank' and 'lesser', are rendered phonetically from the Tibetan, and not translated into Chinese equivalents. Tentative phonetic reconstructions of the Tibetan are given in parentheses.

1. Great minister: 論茝(pinyin: *lún chăi* = Tibetan: *blon-chen*)
2. Adjunct great minister: 論茝 扈 莽(pinyin: *lún chăi hù măng* = Tibetan: *blon-chen 'og-dpon?*) [These first two ministers, according to the *New Tang Annals*, are also called great minister and small minister (大論 *blon-chen* and 小論 *blon-chung*)].
3. Great political minister: 悉 編 掣 逋 (pinyin: *xī biān chè bū* = Tibetan: *srid-dpon chen-po*[222]).
4. Great minister of the interior: 曩 論 掣 逋 (pinyin: *năng lún chè bū* = Tibetan: *nang-blon chen-po*).
5. Mid-rank minister of the interior: 曩 論 覓 零 逋 (pinyin: *năng lún mì líng bū* = Tibetan: *nang-blon 'bring-po*).
6. Lesser minister [of the interior]: 曩 論 充 (pinyin: *năng lún chōng* = Tibetan: *nang-blon chung*).
7. Great governor: 喻 寒 波 掣 逋 (pinyin: *yù hán bō chè bū* = Tibetan: *dbang-po chen-po?*[223]).

[220] This was also noted by GNYA'-GONG (2003: 218-19) in his analysis of the *Section on Law and State*.
[221] For a summary of these offices in tabular form, drawing on *KhG* and the *New Tang Annals*, see YAMAGUCHI 1970a: 69-70, n. 73.
[222] According to Pulleyblank's reconstructed lexicon, the late middle Chinese pronunciation of 悉 was *sit* (PULLEYBLANK 1991: 330). The dental suffix suggests that this phoneticised the Tibetan *srid*, and that this office is that of the *srid-dpon*, and not that of the *rtsis-dpon*.

8. Mid-rank governor: 喻 寒 波 覓 零 逋 (pinyin: *yù hán bō mì líng bū* = Tibetan: *dbang-po 'bring-po?*)
9. Lesser governor: 喻 寒 波 充(pinyin: *yù hán bō chōng* = Tibetan: *dbang-po chung-ngu?*).
These who control state affairs and are generally known as the nine (?) ministers: 尚論 掣 逋 突 瞿 (pinyin: *shàng lún chè bū tū jù* = Tibetan: *zhang-blon chen-po dgu?*).[224]

It seems, therefore, both from the evidence of Old Tibetan edicts and that of the *New Tang Annals*, that a tradition of nine great ministers existed during the period of the Tibetan Empire. Given the disagreement in the sources regarding the ranks and duties of these nine ministers, their offices seem to be less standardised than those represented in the *Section on Law and State* and the *New Tang Annals*; it seems that the structure of nine ministers was given primary importance, and that these nine posts could be filled according to circumstance, and not necessarily according to a predetermined set of ranks.

Further, the catalogue itself appears to have an Old Tibetan antecedent in the Old Tibetan catalogue PT 1067, which also mentions nine *che*. As with its 'catalogue' of the nine *bkra*, the text offers only a brief statement: 'the nine *che*—lords and ministers' (*che dgu dag rje dang blon*) (PT 1067, l. 11). Though it presents no catalogue, this brief description suggests that it could bear some relation to the catalogue of nine great ones in the *Section on Law and State*.

Concerning the payment of blood money and compensation money for death or injury, this practice is found in some detail in the Old Tibetan legal text PT 1071.

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[223] According to PULLEYBLANK (1991: 383, 118, 40), the late middle Chinese pronunciation of 喻 was *jya'*, 寒 was pronounced *xhan*, and 波 was pronounced *pua*. YAMAGUCHI (1970a: 70, n. 73) read this as a phoneticisation of *yo-gal* ['*chos*] *pa*. While this is an attractive solution, *jya' xhan pua* is not a very good rendering of *yo-gal 'chos-pa*, and it also assumes the elision of '*chos* in the Chinese, which is highly unlikely. One other possibility, which is also by no means a perfect phonetic match, is the Tibetan *dbang-po*, meaning governor. This assumes, however, that there existed three tiers of governors.
[224] See BUSHELL 1880: 440 and PELLIOT 1961: 79-80.

This text delineates nine strata of Tibetan society, excluding minor kings and the royal family, who stand above this system of rank. The first seven strata include the ministerial aristocracy, while the last two include commoners (*dmangs*), the lower classes of Tibetan society (DOTSON 2004: 82). The latter two do not concern us here, as they are not included in the catalogue in the *SLS*. The following table demonstrates the close agreement between *Lde'u* and *KhG* and facilitates comparison with the tradition contained in PT 1071.

Table 101: Blood Money (*stong-thang*) Due According to the Rank of the Victim.

| | **Rank (*Lde'u*)** | **Rank (*KhG*)** | **Blood Money (*Lde'u*)** | **Blood Money (*KhG*)** | **Blood Money (PT 1071)** | **Rank (PT 1071)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Great High Minister (large turquoise rank) | Great High Minister (large turquoise rank) | 11,000 | 11,000 | 10,000 | Four great ministers[225] |
| 2 | Mid-rank High Minister, Great Minister of the Interior (small turquoise rank) | Mid-rank High Minister, Great Minister of the Interior (small turquoise rank) | 10,000 | 10,000 | 6,000 | Turquoise rank |
| 3 | Lesser High Minister, Mid-rank Minister of the Interior, Great Justice (large gold rank) | Lesser High Minister, Mid-rank Minister of the Interior, Great Justice (large gold rank) | 9,000 | 9,000 | 5,000 | Gold rank |
| 4 | Lesser Minister of the Interior, Mid-rank Justice (small gold rank) | Lesser Minister of the Interior, Mid-rank Justice (small gold rank) | 8,000 | 8,000 | 4,000 | Gold-plated silver (*phra-men*) rank[226] |
| 5 | Lesser Justice (large gold-plated silver rank) | Lesser Justice (highest gold-plated silver | 7,000 | 7,000 | 3,000 | Silver rank |

[225] The four great ministers are: the prime minister, the great minister of the interior, the emperor's maternal uncle in charge of political affairs (*btsan-po'i zhang drung chab-srid la dbang-ba*), and the deputy prime minister (DOTSON 2004: 81).

[226] On 'gold-plated silver' as a translation of *phra-men*, see *infra* {3.3.5}.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | rank) | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | | 2,000 | Brass rank |
| 7 | | | | | | 1,000 | Copper rank |

The introduction stated that economic evidence can be used to date texts or sections of texts, and we have here a case in point. The blood money payable for the murder of the highest-ranking ministers is very nearly the same in the *SLS* as in PT 1071. After those of the highest rank, however, the compensation price drops steeply in PT 1071, while it proceeds on a more gradated scale in the *SLS*. Nevertheless, the correspondence is striking enough to postulate that the catalogue was not a fabrication, but had as its basis a tradition not far removed from that contained in PT 1071.

The office of 'justice' (*bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa*) is attested in the Dunhuang document PT 1217, where the great minister and another great minister, qualified as a 'justice', decide on a petition (*zhang lon chen po dang / zhang lon chen po yo gal 'cos pa 'i mchid [mching] kyis bchad de*) (PT 1217, ll. 5-6; GNYA'-GONG 2003: 217).

## Introduction {3.3.3}

The third measure catalogued in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the eight *kha* and the eight *khe*. Just as *sde* is an abbreviation for *stong-sde*, here *kha* abbreviates *khrom-kha*, meaning 'trading centre'. An additional catalogue here is also called the eight 'profits' (*khe*), but this is in fact a play on words with the term *khyer*, meaning to carry; it is a catalogue of temples built to carry away the sins of various Tibetan generals.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.3a}: the Eight *Kha*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3a}

As for the eight *kha* and eight profits (*khe*), in the upper region, the three great trading centres (*khrom-kha chen-po*) are the realms of Gilgit (Bru-zha), Turkestan (Dru-gu) and Bal-po. The three trading centres in the lower region are Gar-log, Rong-rong and Ldan-ma. The two trading centres of the central region are Ldong and Stong.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3a}

*kha brgyad khe brgyad ni/ stod na khrom kha chen po gsum ste/ dru*[227] *zha'i rgyal khams dang / dru gu dang / bal po'o/ smad kyi khrom kha gsum la/ gar log*

*rong rong / ldan ma'o/ dbus kyi khrom kha gnyis ni/ stong*[228] *stong gnyis so/* (*Lde'u*: 264).

## Analysis {3.3.3a}

Initially, the mention of eight *khrom-kha* spurred on hopes that it would be a catalogue concerning the eight military governments (*khrom*) (URAY 1980). Obviously this is not the case. The catalogue concerns countries with which Tibet traded, though many of the place names are uncertain. Bru-zha usually indicates Gilgit, and, as mentioned already, Dru-gu can be a general term for Turkish peoples, but was employed in the *Old Tibetan Annals* to refer to the Western Turks. Bal-po is a bit more difficult as it can indicate a number of places, among them Nepal, Khotan

[227] Read *bru*.
[228] Read *ldong*.

and a region near Yar-'brog Lake. Given its location here in the upper region, Khotan seems most likely. The three trading centres in the lower region, Gar-log, Rong-rong and Ldan-ma, are all located in Eastern Tibet in the area traditionally associated with Ge-sar. The two trading centres of the central region, Ldong and Stong, are the most baffling, since, as we have already discussed, Ldong and Stong are ethnonyms.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.3b}: the Eight *Khe*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3b}

As for the eight profits (*khe*), the masters of the four great directions (*la-sgo*) were as follows: [1] 'Bro rje Khri-gsum-rje Stags-snang opened the eastern direction for silk brocade and controlled it. [2] Mgos Khri-sten Bal-ma opened the southern direction for rice and millet and controlled it. [3] 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang opened the western direction for indigo and maroon dye (*rgya-skyegs*) and controlled it. [4] Khyung-po Spu-stangs opened the northern direction for salt and yak-cow hybrids (*mdzo*) and controlled it.

The four great directions (*la-sgo*) and the four small sections (*le-chung*) [NE, SW, SE, NW] make eight, and as they brought profit to Tibet, they were called the 'eight profits'.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3b}

*khe brgyad ni/ la sgo chen po bzhi la mnga' mdzad pa ste/ 'bro rje khri gsum rje rtag snang gis/ shar dar zab kyi la sgo phye ste mnga' mdzad/*

*mgos khri sten bal mas lho 'bras dang khre'i la sgo phye ste mnga' mdzad/*

*'bro chung gza'*[229] *'or mas*[230]*/ nub rams dang rgya skyegs kyi la sgo phye ste mnga' mdzad/*

*khyung po spu stangs kyis byang tsha dang mdzo'i la sgo phye ste mnga' mdzad/*

*la sgo bzhi la le chung bzhi dang brgyad la/ bod khe la zhugs pas khe brgyad ces bya'o/* (*Lde'u*: 264).

## Analysis {3.3.3b}

Of the four figures mentioned, three were famous prime ministers. 'Bro Khri-gsum-rje Stags-snang, who, according to the catalogue, governed the silk trade to the east, served as prime minister under Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can), and is listed as the penultimate prime minister in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s succession of prime ministers. Before his appointment he was also very active as a general on the eastern front with China.[231] VITALI (1990: 18ff.) discusses in some detail the career of 'Bro Khri-gsum-rje Stag-snang, in particular his contacts with the Chinese and his role in the restoration of Kwa-chu Temple. He is perhaps less famous, however, than his reincarnation, Dgongs-pa Rab-gsal, who is credited as the driving force behind the rekindling of Buddhism after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire (STODDARD 2004: 63-64). 'Bro Khri-gsum-rje Stag-snang's ties with China, and indeed his leading role in the 822 peace treaty between Tibet, China, Nanzhao and the Uighurs adds credence to the supposition that he governed the silk trade.

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[229] Read *bzang*.
[230] Read *mang*.
[231] DEMIÉVILLE (1952: 284-92) underlines his contacts with China in a review of his career.

Mgos Khri-sten Bal-ma, who governed the rice and millet trade to the south, is the only unknown figure in the catalogue.

'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang, though an obscure figure with regard to post-dynastic histories, had the longest tenure of any Tibetan prime minister, holding the post from 728 to c.747.[232] He has no known connection with the west apart from the 'Bro clan's traditional association with Western Tibet (DOTSON *forthcoming a*).

The name of the final figure in the catalogue, Khyung-po Spu-stangs, who controlled the salt and yak-cow hybrids (*mdzo*) trade to the north, appears to correspond to Khyung-po Spu-stangs Ring-po, who, according to section {3.3.3c} constructed Stod-lung Lum-pa Temple to purify the sins of having served as a Hor general. This would naturally associate him with the north.

It is evident from the dates of the figures mentioned in the catalogue that it does not relate to any specific period, but is intended more as a glorification of those figures who throughout early Tibetan history opened up trade routes with neighbouring countries.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.3c}: the Eight *Kher*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3c}

The so-called 'additional eight profits' (*kher*) are as follows: eight Tibetan generals built eight great temples to cleanse their sins. They carried away all of their sins, and this being greatly profitable, they are called the eight 'profits' (*kher*).

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[232] The years between 747 and 755 are missing in the *Annals*, so it is likely that 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang continued to act as prime minister for some of these years until he was replaced by 'Bal Ldong-tshab.

Thus [1] Gnyer Stag-btsan Stong-gzigs built Gling Khri-rtse Temple to purify the sins of doing battle with China.

[2] Spa-tshab Stong-pa and Stong-'byams built Mandharaba Temple to purify the sins of destroying the four garrisons.

[3] Khri-gsum-rje Stag-snang built Brag-dmar Dka'-chu Temple to purify the sins of doing battle with China, the maternal uncle (*zhang-po* Rgya).

[4] Cog-ro Skyes-bzang Rgyal-'gong built Mkhar-stod Gnam-ru Temple to purify the sins of incest/ fratricide (*dme byas*).

[5] Khyung-po Spu-stangs Ring-po built Stod-lung Lum-pa Temple to purify the sins of having served as a Hor general.

[6] Rgya-ro Long-gzigs built Stod-lung Mong-hra Temple to purify the sins of having served as a general.

[7] Lce Khri-bzangs Lha-byin built an astrology temple (*rtsis kyi lha-khang*) to purify the sins of having served as a general.

[8] Sbas Rgyal-to-re Stag-snang built the guardians of Khrom-sna Lha-lung to purify the sins of having slandered the innocent Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan.

In this way eight very sinful men had all of their sins carried away by building eight temples, and they are thus called the eight 'profits' (*kher*).

### *Lde'u* {3.3.3c}

*yang kher brgyad ces bya ste/ bod kyi dmag dpon brgyad kyis sdig sbyong du/ gtsug lag khang brgyad bzhengs pas sdig pa thams cad kher*[233] *bas kher che bas na kher brgyad ces bya'o/*

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[233] Read *khyer*.

*de yang gnyer stag btsan stong gzigs kyis rgya la dmag drangs pa'i sdig sbyong du/ gling khri rtse'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs/*

*spa tshab stong pa dang stong 'byams khyis stod kyi mkhar bzhi bcom pa'i sdig sbyong du/ man dha ra ba'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs/*

*khri gsum rje stag snang gis zhang po rgya la dmag drangs pa'i sdig sbyong du brag dmar dka' chu'i lha khang bzhengs/*

*cog ro skyes bzang rgyal 'gong gis rme*[234] *byas pa'i sdig sbyong du/ mkhar stod gnam ru'i lha khang bzhengs/ khyung po spu stangs ring pos hor gyi dmag dpon byas pa'i sdig sbyong du/ stod lung lum pa'i lha khang bzhengs/*

*rgya ro long gzigs kyis dmag dpon byas pa'i sdig sbyong du/ stod lung mong hra'i lha khang bzhengs/*

*lce khri bzangs lha byin gyis dmag dpon byas pa'i sdig sbyong du/ rtsis kyi lha khang bzhengs/*

*sbas rgya*[235] *to re stag snang gis bran ka dpal gyi yon tan la ma nyes pa'i skyon phab pa'i sdig sbyong du/ khrom sna lha lung sgo srung bzhengs te/ de ltar sdig pa chen po mi brgyad kyis gtsug lag khang brgyad brtsigs nas sdig pa thams cad kher*[236] *bas na kher brgyad ces bya'o/* (*Lde'u*: 264-65).

### *Ne'u* {3.3.3c}

[1] Pa-tshab Stong-'bar Sdom-'jam built Gling-mkhar Stupa in the north, Mandharaba Temple in Gtsang and renovated Brag-dmar Temple in the centre to atone for the sins of sacking the four garrisons.

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[234] Read *dme*.
[235] Read *rgyal*.
[236] Read *khyer*.

[2] 'Bro Khri-gsum Stag-snang built Gling Khri-rtse to atone for the sins of doing battle with China, the maternal uncle (*zhang-po rgya*).

[3] Gnyer Stag-btsan Ldong-gzigs built the Temple of the Chinese priest (*rgya'i ha-shang lha-khang*) to atone for the sins of serving as general and doing battle with China, the maternal uncle (*zhang-po* Rgya).

[4] Rbas Rgya-to-re Stag-snang built a section of Khra-sna Monastery to atone for the sins of having slandered the innocent Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan, and was cured of his skin disease.

[5] Khyung-po-ba Yu-tshan lnga built Rgyang-ro Ra-lpags Gdong Temple to atone for the sins of having killed many people.

[6] The Khyung-po [clan members] of the great valley of Grang-po built Grang-po Valley Temple to atone for the sins of incest/ fratricide having erupted among them (*dme shor*).

[7] 'Bro Theg-pa'i Blo-gros, Dpal-mchog Blo-gros Skyong and Dka'-gros Skyong built Lhan Temple to atone for the sins of having cut off their aunt's (*ne-ne-mo*) head ornaments, [which caused her to] commit suicide.

[8] Snub Lha-sgra, Gung Klu-sgra, and their younger brother, Rin-chen, built Rmu Temple to atone for the sins of having seized the crops from Rtsa-ra and bleaching a lake to the east.[237]

[9] Tshe-spong Lha-bzang Klu-dpal built Sbo-thong Bya-rgod Bshongs Temple as a support for the merit of his blind aunt.[238]

### ***Ne'u* {3.3.3c}**

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[237] While this is a literal translation the events seem unlikely. Perhaps the three men dumped the crops in the lake.

[238] This passage is not in keeping with the theme of atonement in this catalogue. A more likely reading is that Klu-dpal built the temple for his own merit after having blinded his aunt.

*pa tshab stong 'bar sdoM 'jaM gyis: stod kyi 'khar bzhi phab pa'i sdig bshegs su: byang du gling mkhas kyi mchod rten bzhengs: gtsang du man dha ra ba'i lha khang bzhengs: dbusu brag dmar gyi lha khang bsoso/ 'bro khri 3 rtag snang gis: zhang po rgya la dmag drangs pa'i sdig bshegs su: gling khri rtse bzhengs: gnyer stag btsan ldong gzigs kyis: zhang po rgya la dmag 'dren pa'i dmag dpon byas pa'i sdig bshegs su: rgya'i ha shang lha khang bzhengs: rbas rgyal po*[239] *stag snas:*[240] *bran ka dpal gyi yon tan la skyon phab pa'i sdig bshegs su: khra sna'i mgon po zung*[241] *1 las sngo*[242] *ma thogso / khyung po ba yu tshan lnga yis: mi mang po gsad pa'i sdig bshegs su: rgyang ro ra lpags gdong gi lha khang bzhengs: khyung po grang po lung chen po: nang rme*[243] *shor ba'i sdig bshegs su: grang po lung gi lha khang bzhengs: 'bro theg pa'i blo gros dang: dpal mchog blo gros skyong dang: dka' gros skyong dang 3 gyis/ ne ne mo'i mgo rgyan bcad pas lcebs shi ba'i sdig bshegs su: lhan gyi lha khang bzhengs: snub lha sgra dang: gung klu sgra: nu bo nan de rin chen 3 gyis: rtswa ra skya lnga byung ba bzung nas: shar pa'i mtsho skyur ba'i sdig bshegs su: rmu'i lha khang bzhengs: tshe spong lha bzang klu dpal gyis: ne ne mo spyan long pa'i bsod nams kyi brten du: sbo thong bya rgod bshongs kyi lha khang bzhengs su gsol lo//* (*Ne'u*: 29-30; UEBACH 1987: 116-19; 13b, l. 6-14a, l. 5).

## Analysis {3.3.3c}

The catalogue in *Ne'u* does not correspond closely with that of *Lde'u*. Only the first four figures in *Ne'u*'s catalogue are found in *Lde'u*, and their order differs. Some

[239] Read *to re*.
[240] Read *snang*.
[241] UEBACH (1987: 116) corrects this to *zur*.
[242] UEBACH (1987: 116) corrects this to *rngo*.
[243] Read *dme*.

of the figures mentioned are very well known, while others are obscure. As noted above at {3.3.3b}, 'Bro Khri-gsum-rje Stags-snang was a famous general on the Chinese front, and later served as prime minister under Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can). He is also connected with the restoration of Kwa-chu Temple (VITALI (1990: 17), and it is this role that is underlined in the present catalogue.

The concept of temple building for the purification of misdeeds is also found in the *Prayers of De-ga G.yu-mtshal*, and Old Tibetan text commemorating an 822 peace treaty between Tibet, China, Nanzhao and the Uighurs. As mentioned above, 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang played a leading role in this pact. The opening to the *Prayers of De-ga G.yu-mtshal* reads:

> Through the construction of the Treaty Temple on the plain, and through blessings and merit of the governors of the realm of Mdo-gams, who present gifts and offer to the three jewels, the misdeeds of the divine emperor, the lord, together with his ministers and retinue, are purified. (*# / : / thang du gtsigs kyI gtsug lag khang bzhengs par mdo gams kyI khams kyi dbang po rnams kyIs dkon mcog gsum la mcod cIng yon phul ba 'dI'i bsod nams dang / byin gyI rlabs kyis lha btsan po rje blon 'khord dang bcas pa'I sdig pa thams cad nI byang /*) (IOL Tib J 751, ll. 35a1-35a2).[244]

While this does not fully corroborate the practice of building temples in order to purify or atone for specific misdeeds, it does establish an Old Tibetan precursor. It further demonstrates that temple building had for the Tibetan emperor an expiatory meaning, and this is a topic that warrants further consideration in light of the temple building schemes of various emperors.

Among the other known figures in the catalogue, Sbas Rgyal-to-re Stag-snang is famous as one of the great villains in Tibetan history. He is the last minister named

[244] The *Prayers of De-ga G.yu-mtshal* are found in both IOL Tib J 751 and PT 16. For a preliminary study of these prayers and the possible location of this treaty temple, see KAPSTEIN 2004. The temple's expiatory role is also discussed in KAPSTEIN 2006: 78.

in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s succession of prime ministers, and is named as a general in Khri Lde-srong-btsan's Skar-chung Edict, which dates to c.812 (*KhG*: 412). In post-dynastic religious histories he is the architect of the bloody coup to oust Ral-pa-can and suppress Buddhism. *KhG* (420) relates in picturesque detail Sbas Rgyal-to-re Stag-snang's relationship with the great monk minister Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan.

The slander in question in the above passage concerns the supposed coup that Sba Rgyal-to-re Stag-snang led. His strategy, according to *KhG*, was to isolate Ral-pa-can by removing his brother, Prince Gtsang-ma, and the great monk minister, Bran-ka Dpal gyi Yon-tan, before proceeding with outright assassination. *KhG* (421) states that Sbas Rgyal-to-re 'offered a slander [to the king] to the effect that Queen Ngang-tshul-ma and Bran-ka Dpal-yon were engaged in a love affair, [to which the king said], "bind them to the law!"' (*de nas btsun mo ngang tshul ma dang bran ka dpal yon mdza' 'o zhes snyan phra gsol bas khrims la sbyor zhig ces gsung ba*). This resulted in the queen's suicide, and caused Yon-tan to hide in an iron bunker before he was eventually found by Sbas Rgyal-to-re and his accomplices, who killed Yon-tan and mutilated his body.[245]

Another figure in the catalogue, Tshes-spong Lha-bzang Klu-dpal, is listed as the third minister of the interior to swear to Khri Lde-srong-btsan's Skar-chung Edict, preserved in *KhG* (412).

Apart from the famous ministers and generals it contains, one other aspect of the catalogue merits attention. According to *Ne'u*, Gnyer Stag-btsan Ldong-gzigs built the Temple of the Chinese priest (*ha-shang*; Skt: *upādhyāya*), which immediately

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[245] Yon-tan then became a malignant spirit that played a prominent role in the Revolt (*kheng-log*), which caused the dissolution of the Tibetan Empire. For his transformation and his role in the Revolt, see RICHARDSON 1998a: 147 and DOTSON *forthcoming a*.

calls to mind Bsam-gtan Gling at Bsam-yas Monastery, where Hwa-shang Mahāyāna supposedly gave teachings.

The catalogue also testifies to the practice of temple building as a method of purifying fratricide and incest. In *Lde'u*, this is the lot of only one man, Cog-ro Skyes-bzang Rgyal-'gong, but in *Ne'u*, the fault lies with an entire community—the Khyung-po clan in the great valley of Grang-po. Here it is not a case where an individual has committed fratricide or incest (*dme byas*), but, according to the grammar, an involuntary act that embroil the entire community (*dme shor*).

## Introduction {3.3.4}

The fourth measure in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the seven *che* and the seven *dpon*. The seven 'great ones' (*che*), as will be seen below, may have been artificially inserted into the double cycle of ten catalogues, as it overlaps with the 'nine great ones' found at {3.1.7}. The seven officials (*dpon*), on the other hand, make a welcome addition to our understanding of Tibetan imperial administration.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.4a}: the Seven *Che*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.4a}

As for the seven great ones and the seven chiefs, concerning the great one of the Sbas clan, [1] Sbas Bya-zhu-can Lha-btsan was great because he possessed the *ke-ke-ru* jewel and the tiger's *gong-thong*. [2] 'Chims Dmyal-ba Rgya-gzigs Shud-stong was great because he possessed the great turquoise swastika and ninety thousand

bondservants. [3] 'Gro Khrom-'da' Chung-pa was great because he possessed the white lion's mane (*gong-glag*). [4] Sna-nam Rgyal-nyer-bzangs was great because he was a great religious instructor (*chos kyi bla mkhyen*). [5] Sbrang Rgyal-ra Legs-gzigs was great because he had a turquoise swastika and gold insignia. [6] Cog-ro Stag-can Gzig-can was great because he had gold insignia and protected the borders. [7] Further, Cog-ro Khong-btsan was great because he had nine hundred and ninety subjects. [8] As for the great one of the Snubs clan, he was great because he had the silver great pitted helmet (*'ob-chen dbu-'phangs*). [9] Myang Zhwa-bo-che was great because he possessed a hat the length of an arrow.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.3.4a}**

*che bdun dpon bdun ni/ sbas che ba ni sbas bya zhu can lha btsan la/ nor bu ke ke ru dang stag gi gong thong yod pas che/*

*'chims dmyal pa rgya gzigs shud stong*[246] *la/ g.yu'i yi ge g.yung drung chen po dang / bran dgu khri yod pas che/*

*'gro khrom 'da' chung pa la seng ge dkar mo'i gong lags*[247] *yod pas che/*

*sna nam rgyal nyer nya bzangs ni chos kyi bla mkhen yin pas che/*

*sbrang rgyal ra legs gzigs la g.yu'i g.yung drung dang gser gyi yi ge yod pas che/*

*cog ro stag can gzig can la gser yig dang mtha'i so kha srung pas che/ yang na cog ro khong btsan la 'bangs dgu brgya dgu bcu yod pas che/ snubs che ba ni dngul gyi 'ob chen dgu*[248] *'phangs yod pas che/*

*myang zhwa bo che la g.yu yi zhwa mda' gang yod pas che'o/* (*Lde'u*: 265-66).

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[246] Read *ting*.
[247] Read *slag*.
[248] Read *dbu*.

## Analysis {3.3.4a}

*Lde'u*'s catalogue of the seven great ones is peculiar for a number of reasons. Firstly, it names nine instead of seven. Secondly, these nine correspond to *Jo sras*' catalogue of the 'nine great ones, ten with the *ring*' at {3.1.7}. Due to the fact that *Lde'u* enumerates not seven, but nine, *Lde'u*'s placement of this catalogue within the double cycle of the ten catalogues appears to be an artificial attempt to force the catalogue into this structure. Properly speaking, therefore, this should be the catalogue of nine great ones, but the compiler was presumably at a loss to find a suitable structure to fit into his schematic and so chose this one.

The contents of this catalogue have already been analysed in detail at {3.1.7}, so all that remains is to compare the present catalogue with its outline at {3.2.4}, which in fact names only seven great ones. The outline verifies the catalogue's inclusion of Sbas Bya-zhu-can Lha-btsan, 'Gro Khrom-'da' Chung-pa, Cog-ro Khong-btsan and Myang Zhwa-bo-che. The third figure in the outline is named only as 'Chims, and this may correspond to 'Chims Dmyal-ba Rgya-gzigs Shud-stong. As for the remaining two figures in the outline, Sbrang G.yu-lung Ste-kyus-pa (lit. 'hook-axe-man') does not correspond to Sbrang Rgyal-ra Legs-gzigs, and Snubs Yar-yar may be the name of the catalogue's unnamed 'great one' of the Snubs Clan. The outline is silent on Sna-nam Rgyal-nyer-bzangs and Cog-ro Stag-can Gzig-can.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.4b}: the Seven *Dpon*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.4b}

As for the seven officials, [1] the duty of the local official (*yul-dpon*) is to be the root of law in the villages, to humble the high and protect the low. [2] The duty of the general (*dmag-dpon*) is to fight the enemy, suppress the enemy with his quick blade (*rno-'gyogs*) and make his own country victorious. [3] The horse official (*chibs-dpon*) points out the roads to travel. [4] The fee official (*rngan-dpon*) manages barley, sheep, silver and gold. He seldom rejoices (*mgu-ba nyung*), and as there were many fees (*rngan*) to count, he was called the fee official. [5] The district official (*sde-dpon*) acts as chief of the districts. [6] The livestock official (*phru-dpon*) takes care of female yaks, yak-ox hybrids, horses, sheep and young livestock in the pastures.[249] [7] The 'honesty official' (*drang-dpon*) honestly decides legal cases and takes care of the teacher of the monastic college (*chos-gra'i slob-dpon*). So the seven officials.

Those are the seven great ones and the seven officials.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.4b}

*dpon bdun ni yul dpon gyi las thabs/ yul chung khrims kyi rtsa ba dang / mtho mtho*[250] *sji/ sma sma*[251] *skyong ba lags/*

*dmag dpon gyi las thabs ni/ dgra 'thab dang / rno 'gyogs kyis dgra gnon pa dang / rang yul rgyal ba byed pa lags/*

*chibs dpon gyi las thabs ni/ gshegs yul mtshon pa lags/*

*rngan dpon gyi las thabs ni/ nas lug gser dngul gyi las byed pa ste/ mgu ba nyung / rngan 'dren pa mang bas rngan dpon zhes pa'o/*

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[249] The word *phru* would seem to be related to *phru-ma*, meaning 'womb', and to *phru-gu*, meaning 'child'. However, *phru* can also mean 'military encampment' (*dmag-sgar*). In the present case however, the term, whatever its original meaning, is associated with livestock.
[250] This duplication is in fact from an abbreviation made up of *mtho'* with two *na-ro*.
[251] The editor corrects this to *dma'*.

*sde dpon gyi las thabs ni/ mi sde'i dpon byed pa'o/*

*phru dpon ni/ 'brog gi 'bri mdzo rta lug phru ma'i gnyer byed pa'o/*

*drang dpon ni/ zhal lce drang por gcod pa dang / chos gra'i slob dpon gyi gnyer byed pa'o/*

*de tsho che bdun dang dpon bdun no/* (*Lde'u*: 266).

**_KhG_ {3.3.4b}**

Further, concerning the seven officials (*dpon*), the duty of the local official (*yul-dpon*) is to maintain the law in the villages. The duty of the general (*dmag-dpon*) is to defeat the enemy. The horse official (*chibs-dpon*) points out the roads to travel. The fee official (*rngan-dpon*) manages grain, silver and gold. As there were many fees (*rngan*) to count, he was called the fee official. The livestock official (*phru-dpon*) takes care of female yaks, yak-cow hybrids, and young livestock. The 'honesty official' (*drang-dpon*) decides legal cases. So the seven officials.

**_KhG_ {3.3.4b}**

*gzhan yang dpon bdun la yul dpon gyi las su yul chung khrims kyis 'tsho/ dmag dpon gyi las su dgra 'dul/ chibs dpon gyis gshegs pa'i bshul mtshon/ rngan dpon gyis 'bru dang gser dngul gyi gnyer byed pa la rngan bgrang ba mang bas rngan dpon du thogs/ phru dpon gyis 'bri mdzo phru ma'i gnyer byed/ drang dpon gyis zhal ce gcod pas dpon bdun no/* (*KhG*: 190; 21a, ll. 2-3).

## Analysis {3.3.4b}

I have retained the term 'official' in the titles of these functionaries in order to stay true to the spirit of the classification of 'seven officials'. Under any other

circumstances, the seven chiefs could be referred to, for example, as local magistrate (*yul-dpon*), general (*dmag-dpon*), stable-master (*chibs-dpon*), revenue chief (*rngan-dpon*), quartermaster (*phru-dpon*), and judge (*drang-dpon*).

This is another case where the catalogues of the *SLS* complement each other: having catalogued the administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*; literally, 'sections of the local official') at {3.3.1a}, the *SLS* now offers a description of the duties of these local officials who oversee the administrative districts. The present catalogue is particularly valuable because it offers a description of local administration as opposed to high-ranking officials.

PT 1089, an Old Tibetan document dealing with the order of rank in Sha-cu, also reveals a good deal of information about the lower echelons of Tibetan imperial administration. This document records an answer to a petition by Chinese officials in Sha-cu, who are essentially disaffected due to their subordination to Tibetans. LALOU (1955) translated and analysed the text, and dated the document to the end of the eighth century. One passage of the document records the order of rank, and lists several different posts.

> They petitioned the prime minister concerning the order of rank of the officials of Khar-tsan military government. From a copy of his decision, bearing seals and hand-signs of Chinese officials and those appointed from Tibet, and given to be held:
>
> 'The officials of Mkhar-tsan military government having disagreed on the order of ranks, in accordance with previously decided custom and the stewardship of your duties (*rje blas gyi gnyer dag du sbyar nas*), you petitioned the prime minister, and I have decided.
> The order of ranks:
> Horn official (*ru-dpon*);
> Head of ten-thousand-district (*khri-dpon*);
> Great enemy-subduing minister (*dgra-blon chen-po*);
> Brass [rank] town prefect (*rtse-rje ra-gan-pa*);
> Great minister in charge of fields (*zhing-dpon chen-po*);
> Great minister of strongholds (*mkhar-dpon chen-po*);
> Great minister in charge of pastoral estates or the upper and lower regions (*stod smad gyI phyug-ma'I gzhIs-pon chen-po*);

Horn inspectors appointed from the inner retinue (*ru spyan nang kor las bskos-pa rnams*);
Middle-rank enemy-subduing minister (*dgra-blon 'bring-po*);
*Ru-theb*;
Lesser-rank enemy-subduing minister (*dgra-blon chungu*);
Great tax official (*khral-po[n] chen-po*);
Great secret scribe (*gsang gi yi-ge-pa chen-po*);
Great accounts minister/ chancellor (*rtsis-pa ched-po*);
Great justice (*zhal-ce-pa ched-po*);
Heads of thousand-districts of Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyI stong-pon*);
Heads of thousand-districts of Mthong-kyab and 'A-zha (*mthong-kyab dang 'a-zha'i stong-pon*);
Copper [rank] town prefect (*rtse-rje zangs-pa'*);
Secret messenger (*gsang gI pho-nya*);
Middle rank secret scribe (*gsang gI yige-pa 'bring-po*);
Lesser secret scribe (*gsang gI yige-pa chungu*);
*spyI gcod*;
Little heads of thousand-districts of Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyI stong-cung*);
Translators of Chinese and Turkish (*rgya drugI lo-tsa-pa*);
General of *lung dor* (*lung dor gyI dmag-pon*);
Copper [rank officials] attached to the *sna* (*zangs-pa sna la gtogs-pa*[252]);
Accounts inspector (*rtsIs spyan*);
Little heads of thousand-districts of Mthong-kyab and 'A-zha (*mthong-kyab dang 'a-zha'i stong-cung*);
Those of great tiger's *zar* [rank] who are not attached to the *sna* (*stagI zar cen* [*can*][253] *pa sna la ma gtogs-pa*);
Secret storekeepers and dispensers [of paper?] (*gsang gI rub-ma dang 'gyed-ma-pa'*);
Inspector official of estates (*gzhIs-pon spyan*);
Great caretaker (?) (*byung 'tsho ched-po*);
Those of small tiger's *zar* [rank] (*stagI zar cung-pa*);
Deputy official of estates (*gzhIs-pon 'og-pon*);
Lesser secret scribe (*gsang gI yi-ge-pa phra-mo*);
Lesser barbarian general (*lho-bal gyI dmag-pon chungu*);

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[252] The phrases 'attached to the *sna*' (*sna la gtogs pa*), and 'not attached to the *sna*' (*sna la ma gtogs pa*) are each found in this list of officials. BTSAN-LHA (1997: 423), relying on ll. 394-96 of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which concern a conflict with 'Jang, probably in 791, defines *sna la gtogs pa* as 'a name for minor officials' (*dpon chung-ngu'i ming*). This passage is translated and analysed at {3.7.6b}, and it is evident that Btsan-lha's reading is not justified. At present I can offer no better explanation than the hypothesis that the phrase has much the same meaning as 'attached to the council/ attached to the ruler's orders' (*bka' la gtogs-pa*), which is used to descibe ministers in the edicts of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Khri Lde-srong-btsan and in the Lhasa Treaty Pillar (*supra*, {3.1.7}). Richardson, in his partial translation of this document kept in his papers at the Bodleian Library (Ms OR. Richardson 44, p. 4), read *sna la ma gtogs-pa* as 'not part of the general order'. Considering this reading, one wonders then why the prase *sna la gtogs-pa* would ever be necessary

[253] This correction is justified not only by the fact that a small tiger's *zar* [rank] (*stagI zar cung-pa*) appears immediately below in the text, but also by the appearance of *stagi zar-cen* in other Old Tibetan texts such as PT 1217, ll. 3-4: *bdag ngan pas snga slad chab srid kyi 'dab du dpen pa 'i zho sha phul pa'i rngo 'phul stagi zar cen gnang ba tsaM zhig / 'og dpe phyag rgya 'ga' 'cang bar chi gnang zhes*. Cf. *infra*, {3.5.6}.

Lesser caretaker (*byung 'tsho chungu*);
Accountant of *chos* (religious affairs?) (*chos gyi rtsIs-pa*);
Tally official (*khram-pa*);
Guide (?) (*sa-mkhan* [*sam mkhan*]).'
So it says.

*khar tsan khrom gyI dpon sna'i gral/ thabs// zhang lon chen po la zhuste/ mchid kyIs bcad pa'I dpe'/ rgya'I dpon sna bod las bskos pa'i sug pa na dpe phyag rgya can 'chang ba/ las 'byung ba// mkhar tsan khrom gyi dpon sna gral thabs mchid myi mjal pa'/ sngar bcad pa'i lugs dang rje blas gyi gnyer dag du/ sbyar nas// zhang lon chen po la zhuste mchId kyIs bcad pa// gral thabs la/ /ru dpon/ /khrI dpon/ /dgra blon chen po/ /rtse rje ra gan pa/ /zhang lon chen po/ /mkhar dpon chen po/ /stod smad gyI phyug ma'I gzhIs pon chen po/ /ru spyan nang kor las bskos pa rnams/ /dgra blon 'bring po/ /ru theb/ dgra blon chungu/ /khral po chen po/:/gsang gI yige pa ched po/ /rtsis pa ched po/ /zhal ce pa ched/ po/ /bod sum gyI stong pon/ /mthong kyab dang 'a zha'i stong pon/ /rtse rje zangs pa'/ /gsang gI pho nya/ /gsang gI yige pa 'bring po/ / gsang gI yige pa chu ngu/ /spyi gcod/ /bod sum gyI stong cung/ /rgya drugI lo tsa pa/ lung dor gyI dmag pon/ zangs pa sna la gtogs pa/ rtsIs/ spyan/ /mthong kyab dang 'a zha'I stong cung/ /stagi zar can pa sna la ma gtogs pa/ /gsang gI rub ma pa dang 'gyed ma pa'/ /gzhIs pon spyan/ byung 'tsho ched po/ /stagi zar cung pa/ gzhIs pon 'og pon/:/gsang gI yige pa phra mo/ lho bal gyI dmag pon chungu/ byung 'tsho chungu/ chos gyi rtsIs pa/ khram pa/ sam mkhan zhes 'byung/* (PT 1089, ll. 33-43; LALOU 1955: 177-78, 182-83).

This fascinating passage is perhaps the most comprehensive picture of the lower ranks in Tibetan imperial administration to be found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. A full analysis of all that it reveals would take this investigation too far from the *Section on Law and State* itself, but some comments are in order. The mention of a head of ten-thousand-district (*khri-dpon*) necessarily implies the existence of ten-thousand-districts, only one of which—that of Zhang-zhung—is mentioned in the *SLS*. A passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, however, reveals the existence of five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts during the middle of the eighth century (*infra*, {3.3.8a}). Further, the list includes heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*) not only from Tibet and Sum-pa (*bod sum gyI stong-pon*), but also from 'A-zha and Mthong-khyab. Unfortunately, we have no extant lists of the thousand-districts of these areas. The other offices worth noting are the tax official (*khral-pon*), the judge/

justice (*zhal-ce-pa*) various types of secret scribes, the secret messenger (*gsang gi pho-nya*), the tally official (*khram-pa*) and the guide.

Returning to the present catalogue, it is interesting that the local official is entrusted with the administration of justice on a village level. Above him, it seems, the 'honesty official' (*drang-dpon*) decides those cases that cannot be resolved through the local official's mediation. The chain of command is even clearer when we look back to the upper, mid-rank and lower justices (*bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa*), who are among the highest-ranking Tibetan ministers. A similar chain of command is found in the Old Tibetan legal text IOL Tib J 740 (2), where difficult legal cases are referred, presumably by local officials, to the minister of the exterior. This minister then sends the case to the judges at the Tibetan court, who return a decision (DOTSON *forthcoming b*). This testifies to the legal and bureaucratic centralisation of the Tibetan Empire: matters arising on the periphery are decided at the centre. The present catalogue, however, in devolving village justice to the local official, seems more in line with pre-modern Tibetan legal practice, where the central administration was content to devolve nearly all legal authority to local administrators, provided that taxes arrived on time (GOLDSTEIN 1971: 180). There may, however, be no contradiction, as the cases in IOL Tib J 740 (2) are all by nature too difficult for the local officials to decide.

One possible explanation for the position of the fee official (*rngan-dpon*) is that it is related to the *mngan*/ *mngan-dpon* of Old Tibetan sources, who was a regional governor associated with revenue officers (*khab-so*), among other things (URAY 1962).

## Introduction {3.3.5}

The fifth measure in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the six *na* and the six *ne*. According to the outline of the double cycle, these consist of the six great insignia and the six small insignia. As a matter of fact, the catalogue announces the six great and six small, and names those who hold the six great insignia, the six middle insignia and the six small insignia. *KhG*'s passage concerning the insignia of rank occurs in the catalogues of the thirty-six institutions, but is considered in detail here. In naming those who hold the highest ranks, it overlaps partially with {3.3.2b}.

*Lde'u* goes on to name the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*). The catalogue of the six 'qualities' is also found in *KhG*'s catalogue of the thirty-six institutions at {3.5.3b}. As mentioned in the introduction to the composite outline, *Lde'u*'s set of thirty-six institutions differs from *KhG*'s in that it names the six institutions where *KhG* lists the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*). This is evidently due to the fact that *Lde'u* added the six 'qualities' to the catalogues of the six *na* and six *ne* in the double cycle of ten catalogues—a place where they seem not to belong. This being the case, the six qualities will not be analysed here, but where they appear in the catalogues of the thirty-six institutions at {3.5.3b}.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.5}: the Six *Na* and Six *Ne*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.5a}

As for the six great and six small, the six great are called the six great insignia. They are the large and small turquoise insignia, large and small gold insignia and the

large and small gold-plated silver (*phra-men*) insignia. The six great insignia go to [1] the emperor's mantra specialists (*sku'i sngags mkhan*), [2] the impartial justices, [3] the great elder monks (Skt: *sthavira*), [4] the teachers of the monastic colleges, [5] the governors and ministers of both upper and lower regions (respectively), and [6] the high ministers of the centre.

The middle six insignia go to [1] the *bon-po* tending to the emperor, [2] the bedroom attendants, [3] those who rein the horses, [4] those who make the fire in the middle of the night, [5] those who load the cow-ox hybrids at the fortresses (*dbye-mkhar*) and [6] the guides to the northern plateau.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.5a}

*che drug chung drug ni/ che drug ni yi ge che ba drug la bya ste/ g.yu yig che chung gnyis/ gser yig che chung gnyis/ 'phra men che chung gnyis/ yi ge che ba drug la sku'i sngags mkhan la gcig bka' yo 'gal 'chos pa dang gnyis/ gnas brtan chen po la gcig ste gsum/ chos gra'i slob dpon la gcig ste bzhi/ stod smad gnyis kyi dbang blon la gcig ste lnga/ dbus kyi gung blon la gcig ste drug go/*

*yi ge 'bring po drug la/ sku 'tsho ba'i bon po la gcig gzims mal 'chos pa dang gnyis/ chibs kha khrid pa dang gsum/ nam phyed kyi me 'byin pa dang bzhi/ dbye mkhar ba'i mdzo 'gel ba dang lnga/ byang thang gi sa mkhan dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 266-67).

### *Lde'u* {3.3.5b}

Concerning the six small insignia, [1] there are twenty-one silver insignia, and they are bestowed upon the border guards and the town prefects (*rtse-rje*) of the royal castles. [2] There are seventeen brass insignia, which are bestowed upon the six clans

of paternal subjects. [3] The bronze insignia are bestowed upon the nine subject experts and nine herders. [4] The one hundred and twenty-one copper insignia are bestowed upon the heads of thousand-districts and the district officials. [5] The heroic iron insignia are bestowed upon the heroes. [6] The wavy pale wood insignia are bestowed upon the three hundred and sixty '*big-to* and the four Mon districts up to the Btsan-po.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.3.5b}**

*yi ge chung ba drug la/ dngul gyi yi ge rtsa gcig yod pa ni/ mtha'i so mtshams srung ba dang / sku mkhar gyi rtse rje rnams la bkod de gcig ra gan yi ge bcu bdun yod de yab 'bangs rus drug tu bkod pa dang gnyis/ 'khar ba'i yi ge ni 'bangs mkhan dgu rdzi bdun la bkod pa dang gsum/ zangs yig brgya rtsa gcig ni/ stong dpon sde dpon la bkod pa dang bzhi/ dpa' lcags kyi yi ge dpa' bo la bkod pa dang lnga/ shing skya chu ris gyi yi ge ni 'big to sum brgya drug cu dang mon sde bzhi btsan po'i yan chod la bkod pa dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 267).

### ***KhG*** **{3.3.5}**

As for the insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*), the excellent ones are gold and turquoise, the middle-rank are silver and gold-plated silver (*phra-men*), and last are copper and iron. This makes six, but each rank is divided into two—large and small—thus making twelve all together. Thus the great 'high minister' (*gung-blon*) is given the large turquoise insignia, the mid-rank 'high minister' and great minister of the interior (*nang-blon chen-po*) are given the small turquoise insignia. The lesser 'high minister', the mid-rank minister of the interior, and the great impartial justice (*bka'*

*yo-gal 'chos-pa chen-po*),[254] these three, are given the great gold insignia and the lesser minister of the interior and the mid-rank judicial minister (*bka'-blon*) are given the small gold insignia. The lesser judicial minister is given the gold-plated silver insignia. Further, scholar translators, the emperor's mantra specialists (*sku'i sngags mkhan*), and governors and ministers (*dbang blon*) of the upper and lower regions are given the large silver insignia. Bon-po tending to the body [of the Btsan-po], personal chamberlains (*gzims-mal-ba)*,[255] riders (*chibs-kha-ba*), guides to the northern plateau, border guards, those who protect fortified cities and so forth are given the small silver insignia. The six clans of paternal subjects and so on receive the bronze insignia, the heads of thousand-districts and horn officials receive copper insignia. Heroes in battle receive the iron insignia, and further, as for the wavy pale wood (*shing skya chu-ris*) insignia, it is given to the common subjects.

### ***KhG*** **{3.3.5}**

*yig tshangs ni rab gser g.yu gnyis 'bring dngul dang phra men tha ma zangs yig lcags yig ste drug po re re la che chung gnyis phye bas bcu gnyis so/ /de yang gung blon chen po la g.yu yig chen po gnang / dgung blon 'bring dang nang blon chen po la g.yu yig chung ngu dgung blon tha chung dang nang blon 'bring bka' yo gal 'chos pa chen po gsum la gser yig chen po/ nang blon tha chung dang bka' blon 'bring la gser yig chung ngu / bka' blon tha chung la phra men gyi yi ge gnang / gzhan yang chos gra'i slob dpon sku'i sngags mkhan stod smad kyi dbang blon rnams la dngul gyi yi ge chen po byin/ sku 'tsho ba'i bon po gzims mal ba chibs kha ba byang thang gi sa mkhan mtha'i so kha srung ba dang sku mkhar gyi rtse srung sogs la*

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[254] This is translated somewhat freely here. Literally, his title means, 'great impartial executor of orders'. The duties of this functionary are described below as being that of a judge.
[255] The translation is uncertain, but *gzims-mal* can mean sleeping place or bedroom.

*dngul yig chung ba/ yab 'bangs rus drug sogs la 'khar ba'i yi ge /stong dpon ru dpon sogs la zangs yig /g.yul du dpa' ba la lcags yig/ yang tha shing skya chu ris kyi yi ge ni 'bangs phal pa rnams la gnang skad/* (*KhG*: 190-91; 21a, l. 5-21b, l. 1).

### Analysis {3.3.5}

The analysis at {3.3.2b} noted the correspondence between payments of blood money according to rank in the *SLS* with those found in PT 1071, an Old Tibetan legal document. The latter listed six insignia of rank. In descending order, they are: turquoise, gold, gold-plated silver (*phra-men*), silver, brass and copper and bronze.

The Tibetan imperial system of ranks according to insignia (*yi-ge*) is also found in a valuable passage in the *New Tang Annals*. BUSHELL (1880: 442) translates the passage as follows. 'The officers in full costume wear as ornaments—those of the highest rank *ze-ze* [瑟瑟 pinyin: *sè sè*], the next gold, then gilded silver, then silver, and the lowest copper—which hang in large and small strings from the shoulder, and distinguish the rank of the wearer.'[256] The description corresponds exactly to those found in the Old Tibetan legal texts PT 1071, PT 1072 and PT 1073, save for the omission of brass (*ra-gan*) between the ranks of silver and copper, and it further indicates that the Tibetan insignia (*yig-tshang*/ *yi-ge*) can be considered to be akin to epaulets. We can note that *sè-sè*, meaning something like 'aquamarine', probably indicates turquoise (DEMIÉVILLE 1952: 285, n. 2). Here 'gilded silver' (金塗銀 pinyin: *jīn tú yín*) means 'silver coated with gold', or 'vermeil', as DEMIÉVILLE (1952:

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[256] Cf. PELLIOT 1961: 80.

284, n. 2) rendered it, and should therefore be translated 'gold-plated silver'. This corresponds to the Tibetan *phra-men*, thus clarifying an obscure term.[257]

Furthermore, aside from the statement in the *New Tang Annals*, there is evidence in contemporary Tibetan sources for a system of ranks employing large and small insignia. Lines 5-11 of the north face of the Zhol Pillar record grants made to Ngan-lam Stag-gra Klu-khong:

> The Btsan-pho Khri Srong-lde-brtsan himself took an oath and made a decree granting to the descendants of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong, forever and ever and in perpetuity without reduction, the great silver insignia. (*/./ btsan pho khrI srong lde brtsan gyi zha snga nas dbu snyung gnang ste/ /blon stag sgra klu khong gi bu tsha/ rgyud 'pheld la nam nam zha [zhar] dngul gyI yi ge chen po gcig// na myI dbab par g.yung drung/ du stsald phar gnang ngo//*).[258]

The first section of chapter eight of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* also testifies to the existence of greater and lesser grades of insignia as it recounts the awards given to ministers in 763 after the sack of the Chinese capital:

> Zhang Mchims Rgyal-zigs and the others sacked Keng-shI and installed the Chinese lord Gwang-bu Hwang-te. As excellent rewards, they are granted the small turquoise insignia, always and forever. (*zhang mchims rgyal zigs la stsogs pas rgya 'I mkhar king shI phab ste/ rgya rje gwang bu hwang te bskos so/ /legs pa zhin pa 'I bya dga'/ g.yu 'I yi ge chu ngu nam nam zhar zhar byin no/)* (PT 1287, ll. 376-8; *CD3*: 30)

The existence of greater and lesser grades of insignia is also evident from another document from Dunhuang, PT 1089, which deals specifically with the hierarchy of Tibetan and Chinese functionaries in Sha-cu. The opening reads:

> Even at Sha-cu, formerly, though the heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*) from Tibet appointed to a higher place were [ranked as] *gtsang-*

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[257] DEMIÉVILLE (1952: 285, n. 2) did not equate this with the corresponding Chinese term, and rendered *phra-men* as 'joyaux ?'.
[258] Cf. RICHARDSON 1985: 16-17; LI AND COBLIN 1987: 148, 170.

*chen-pa*, from last year onwards the Chinese inhabitants of Sha-chu were selected as soldiers (*rgod-du bton*), and heads of thousand-districts and little heads of thousand-districts (*stong-cung*) were assigned to districts. They gave the heads of thousand-districts the rank of small brass (*ra-gan*), and gave the little heads of thousand-districts the rank of great copper. (*sha cu'I khri dpon dang khri spyan gyI zhus [+-2]// sha cu na yang sngon nI bod las stong dpon gong tsar bskos pa'/ btsang cen pa zhig mchis par yang bas/ na nIng slad kyIs rgya sha cu pa rgod du bton nas// stong pon stong cung yang sde bcad nas// stong pon nI thabs ra gan chungu [ya] stsald// stong cung nI thabs/ zangs ched po stsald/*) (PT 1089, ll. 8-10; LALOU 1955: 176, 180)

The passage concerns the promotion of heads of thousand-districts and little heads of thousand-districts. The former previously held the rank of *gtsang-chen-pa*, which is one rank below those who hold copper insignia. It is evident from the document, too, that different systems of rank operated in other Tibetan-occupied territories, such as Khotan (PT 1089, ll. 21-27; LALOU 1955: 177, 181). This evidently reflects the varied adaptations of the indigenous governments to the Tibetan Empire's system of ranks.

The division of insignia of rank into large and small is also encountered in an Old Tibetan document from Miran, Tak 370, which mentions great gold insignia, great silver insignia, small brass insignia, and small copper insignia.[259] That a similar system of rank is found in contemporary sources from Dunhuang, Miran, and Central Tibet, in addition to the Chinese sources and post-imperial sources, indicates that it was likely a pan-Tibetan system operating in all areas under Tibetan administration.

By way of comparison, the ranks, according to the various sources mentioned above, are given in the following table. It should be understood that each rank is divided into large or small insignia.

Table 102: The Insignia of Rank.

| | **Insignia (*Lde'u*)** | **Insignia (*KhG*)** | **Insignia (PT 1071, etc.)** | **Insignia (*New Tang Annals*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Turquoise | Turquoise | Turquoise | Turquoise (*sè-sè*) |
| 2 | Gold | Gold | Gold | Gold |

[259] For the plates, see TAKEUCHI 1997a: 185; for transliteration, see TAKEUCHI 1997b: 121.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Gold-plated silver | Gold-plated silver | Gold-plated silver | Gold-plated silver |
| 4 | Silver | Silver | Silver | Silver |
| 5 | Brass | Bronze | Brass | Copper |
| 6 | Bronze | Copper | Copper | |
| 7 | Copper | Iron | Rank of *gtsang-chen* (not an insignia) | |
| 8 | Heroic iron | Wavy pale wood | | |
| 9 | Wavy pale wood | | | |

The only significant difference between the insignia in *Lde'u* and in *KhG* is latter's omission of brass.

The Tibetan system of rank according to precious metals also has its corollary within Old Tibetan ritual texts. In a ritual narrative concerning the provenance of the beloved pyschopomp horses (*do-ma snying dags*), the father of the deceased fails to trap the horses at a succession or springs. These are, in order, turquoise, gold, silver, brass, bronze, iron and copper springs.[260] While this does not correspond perfectly to the precious metals used as insignia of rank in the Tibetan Empire, it follows roughly the same order, and is similar enough to demonstrate a close relationship. Here it would seem not to be an issue of administrative culture borrowing from ritual culture, or vice-versa, but of both being informed by common cultural assumptions regarding the value of precious metals.

This tradition of organising ranks according to precious metals is also found in Tang China, where the 'fish bags' in two parts that served as official insignia were decorated with precious metals. In a decree from 674, we find the following materials corresponding to ranks, in descending order: gold and jade appliqué, gold, silver and brass, with copper or bronze (and perhaps iron) applying to commoners (DEMIÉVILLE

[260] *g.yu'i chu myig du do zind / do ma zind gser gi chu myig du do zind / do ma zind / dngul / gi chu myig / tu do zind / do ma zind / ra gan gyi / chu tu do zind do ma zind / khar ba'i / chu myig / lchags gyi chu zangs / gyi chu tu / do zind do ma zin /* (PT 1134, ll. 108-10; STEIN 1971: 495).

1952: 286, n. 2). It may well be the case, therefore, that the Tibetan system of insignia of rank partly modelled itself on Chinese practices.

Like the catalogue of the seven officials at {3.3.4b}, the present catalogues offer some insight into the lower echelons of Tibetan imperial administration. Among the more obscure offices catalogued are 'those who load the cow-ox hybrids at the fortresses', and the guides to the northern plateau, which are partially corroborated by the office of guide mentioned in PT 1089 at {3.3.4b}.

Some of these offices seem to concern court officials, such as the Bon-po tending to the emperor, the emperor's mantra specialists (*sku'i sngags mkhan*), the bedroom attendants and perhaps also those who make the fire in the middle of the night. The first two offices are particularly interesting, as they record the existence of a priestly class. During the imperial period, *bon/ bon-po* were a class of priests engaged mostly with prognostication, healing and funerary rites. If the present catalogue concerns these early Tibetan ritual specialists, and is not projecting back in time the priests of the organised Bon religion, then this suggests that *bon/ bon-po* ritual specialists also performed rites for the well-being of the Tibetan emperor—a very important matter in the ongoing debate about the nature of Tibet's royal or state religion. The present catalogue offers a model of inclusivity, as it also names mantra specialists as personal priests of the emperor. The title of this office, *sku'i sngags mkhan*, may be a contraction for 'tantric preceptor' (*sngags kyi mkhan-po*), but the present title seems to indicate not a tantrists, but merely a royal liturgist.

The presence of such religious specialists in the *SLS* may seem slightly out of place, but this is not necessarily the case. Inclusion of ritual specialists within an official and bureaucratised framework was also common to Tang China, and in the *New Tang Annals* we find posts for those responsible for rites and sacrifices, complete

with an enumeration of their duties (DES ROTOURS 1947: 79-96). Likewise, such posts as the Tibetan emperor's bedroom attendants and those who make the fire in the middle of the night are also very much in line with the hundreds of similar such posts for those in the personal service of the Tang emperor (cf. DES ROTOURS 1947: 217-56).

Returning to the priestly figures in the catalogues, *Lde'u* also awards high-ranking insignia to two types of Buddhist priests, the great elder monks (*sthavira*) and the teachers of the monastic colleges. To this *KhG* adds the scholar-translators. Post-dynastic religious histories, such as the *Dba' bzhed*, contain long passages about the appointment of monks to the political council and the supreme status of monks from the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan onward (WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 74-76). This is partially corroborated in Old Tibetan inscriptional evidence. The Ldan-ma-brag Inscription, which dates to 804, states:

> During the reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, monks were admitted to the great political and religious councils, and bestowed with the ranks of gold aristocracy on downwards. (*btsan po khri lde srong brtsan gyI ring la// dge' slong chos dang chab [srid] kyi bka' chen po gtags ste/ gser gyI bku*[261] *rgyal man cad gyi thabs stsal*) (CHAB-SPEL 2003 [1988]: 87).[262]

Here the phrase 'gold aristocracy' (*gser gyi dku-rgyal*) requires some explanation. RÓNA-TAS (1957: 263-69) argues that the term *dku-rgyal* denotes aristocracy, and he further points out its close relationship with the possession of insignia (*yi-ge/ yig-tshang*) and the title 'minister/ ministerial aristocrat' (*zhang-lon*). DENWOOD (1991: 134) injects some linguistic precision into the argument, reading *dku-rgyal* as 'overcomer of intrigue', but essentially upholds Róna-tas' claims. The

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[261] Read *dku*.
[262] See also IMAEDA *forthcoming a*.

north side of the Zhol Pillar demonstrates quite clearly the correspondence between insignia (*yi-ge*), aristocracy (*dku-rgyal*) and ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-lon*). The north face inscription begins: 'A summary of the edict bestowing ennoblement on Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong' (*blon stag sgra klu khong/ dku rgyal gtsigs gnang ba'I mdo rdo rings la yIg dru bris pa'*) (LI AND COBLIN 1987: 148). After recounting a few grants, the text reads:

> As long as there is one among the descendants of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong who holds in his hand the insignia of ennoblement, even if the lineage dies out or is disgraced, the silver insignia shall not be taken back. The great silver insignia is bestowed in perpetuity on whoever is nearest among the lineage of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong and of Zla-gong. The descendants of minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong's father, Zla-gong, are awarded the rank of those of ministerial (*zhang-lon*) insignia, and three hundred soldiers. (*blon stag sgra klu khong/ gi bu tsha rgyud peld/ dku rgyal gyi yi ge' lag na 'chang 'chang ba zhIg rabs chad dam bkyon bab na yang dngul gyI yi ge blar myI bzhes par/ blon stag sgra klu khong/ dang/ zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud gang nye ba gcIg dngul gyI yi ge chen po g.yung drung du stsald par gnang ngo// /blon stag sgra klu khong gi pha zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud 'pheld gyi rnams/ zhang lon yI ge pa'I thang dang dmag sum rgyar gnang ngo*).[263]

This crucial passage demonstrates the identity of aristocratic insignia (*dku-rgyal gyi yi-ge*) with ministerial insignia (*zhang-lon yi-ge*), and shows clearly that ennoblement and the acquisition of a ministerial post went hand in hand.

Some of the other posts mentioned in the catalogue are known from Old Tibetan sources. The governor (*dbang-po*), for example, legislated the outlying areas of the Tibetan Empire (URAY 1990: 424, 429-30). Also, the town prefects (*rtse-rje*), who administrated Tibetan strongholds, are mentioned in PT 1089. According to the present catalogue, they held silver insignia, but PT 1089 names town prefects of both

[263] North face inscription, ll. 31-41 (LI AND COBLIN 1987: 149, 171). See also RICHARDSON 1985: 20, 21.

brass (l. 37) and copper rank (ll. 14, 24, 29, 31, 39). It does, however, seem to name a higher ranking town prefect whose insignia of rank is not given.[264]

Some of the figures mentioned overlap with other parts of the *Section on Law and State*. For example, the six clans of paternal subjects were discussed at {2.7}, and the nine subject experts and nine herders, mentioned here as holders of bronze insignia, were catalogued and analysed at {3.1.11}. Further, the catalogues at {3.3.1b} make it clear that the copper insignia is associated with the hierarchy of the thousand-districts, just as it is here. It is interesting that *Lde'u* states that one hundred and twenty-one copper insignia are bestowed upon the heads of thousand districts and the district officials (*sde-dpon*), since this seems to correspond to the numbers announced at {3.1.11}. By that reckoning, there are sixty-one heads of thousand districts. This count therefore appears to assume that there were also sixty district officials (*sde-dpon*).

There does not appear to be any Old Tibetan evidence to support the existence of either iron insignia or wavy pale wood insignia. The nearest correspondence is the revelation in PT 1290, a fascinating, but fragmentary Old Tibetan document, that the iron bird was a symbol or insignia of a messenger (PT 1290 *recto* l. 12; MACDONALD 1971: 325; STEIN 1984: 263). *Lde'u*'s statement that the holders of the wavy pale wood insignia are the 'three hundred and sixty *'big-to* and the four Mon districts up to the Btsan-po' is decidedly obscure, and we will have to content ourselves for the moment with *KhG*'s statement that this was the insignia of common subjects.

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[264] The following passage reveals that the attaché to the town prefect enjoyed gold-plated silver rank, so it can be safely assumed that the prefect himself enjoyed a higher rank. 'From the request of the *to-dog* of Sha-cu and the attachés to heads of thousand-districts: "We were appointed as great *to-dog* and as attaché to the town prefect, and given the gold-plated silver rank."' (*sha cu'I to/ dog dang stong zla rnams gyI gsol ba las nI// bdag cag to dog ched po/ rtse rje'i zlar bskoste/ thabs phra men stsal nas/*) (ll. 28-29). The text in fact names a number of town prefects with varying ranks.

## Introduction {3.3.6}

The sixth measure in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the five *bla* and the five *na*. The first are the five 'authorities' (*bla*), and the second, as the outline states, consists of the five types of lawsuits (*zhal-lce*), the five types of law, the five types of heroes, the five types of soldiers (*rgod*) and the five types of messengers. All but the messengers are catalogued here, and the laws are treated in some detail.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.6}: the Five *Bla* and Five *Na*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.6a}

As for the five authorities (*bla*), they are: [1] the ruler, the king, authority of the subjects; [2] the justice, authority of politics (*srid*); [3] the high minister, authority of power/ authority of governors; [4] the minister of the interior, authority of accounting (*rtsis*); and [5] the lower local magistrate (*ma yul-dpon*), authority of repairing dangerous roads (*'phrang gzo'i bla*).

### *Lde'u* {3.3.6a}

*bla lnga ni sa bdag rgyal po 'bangs kyi bla/ yo 'gal 'chos pa srid kyi bla/ dgung blon dbang gi bla/ nang blon rtsis kyi bla/ ma yul dpon te 'phrang gzo'i bla'o/* (*Lde'u*: 267).

### *Lde'u* {3.3.6b}

As for the five *na*, they are called the five stages in a lawsuit (*zhal-lce*): [1] the virtuous law of blood money; [2] the law of companions' affairs (*gnyen byed tshis kyi zhal lce*); [3] the law of jurors revealing falsehood (*snyon rtol dkar-mi'i zhal-lce*); [4] the law of the Mdo-lon deciding a petition; and [5] the law of the custom of reconciliation (*nye du 'dum [hlum] chos kyi zhal-lce*).

As for the five types of laws (*khrims*), they are: [1] the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher; [2] the law of Stong-'jam Chun-lag; [3] the proclaimed royal law (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*); [4] the general law created by the governors (*dbang-bcad spyi'i khrims*); and [5] the addendum—the law of Lady 'Bro Byang-chub.

Concerning that, the one called Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher is as follows: if one steals the property (*nor stor*) of the king, the ruler, the law is one thousand. [If one steals the property of] the sangha—a thousand being for subjects—it is set as greater than that.[265]

As for the [law] called Stong-'jam Chun-lag, it states that in a case where someone steals property from an area, and it shows up in the upper part (*phu*) of another area, it is unacceptable to punish the lower part (*mda'*) of that area.

As for the so-called 'general law created by the governors', the law states that when the lord's tomb is being constructed, there is [a fine of] one goat for each day a man does not arrive. For each day that a woman does not arrive, there is [a fine of] one donkey.

As for the one called the 'proclaimed royal law', it is as follows: if one steals the property (*nor stor*) of the king, the ruler, one pays back one hundred fold; if [one steals the property of] the church (*dkon-cog*), one pays back eighty-fold; if [one steals the property of] a subject, one pays back eight-fold.

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[265] The translation of this phrase is uncertain.

As for the addendum, the law of the 'Bro lady, it is as follows: teach husbands the duties of the male (*pho-phyag*) and teach wives the duties of the female (*mo-phyag*). The basis of becoming wealthy is to set of boundary stones on one's fields and to accord with the astrological trigrams (*spar-kha*) of fall and spring.

As for the five types of soldiers, they are: [1] the soldiers' copper [statues] (*zangs-ma*), called 'the king'; [2] soldiers' portraits (*rjes-'dra*); [3] insignia of rank; [4] funerary rites and tombs (*dur mchad*) and [5] bondservants possessing fields.

As for the military ministers, their funeral rites and tombs (*dur mchad*) should be made together with fields and bondservants. As for the subordinate military lords (*rgod kyi yang-rje*), [their funeral rites and tombs should be made] together with inferior (*tha-ma*) fields and servants. A soldier's portrait (*rjes 'dra-ba*) [shall cost] not more than five thousand and fifty in compensation price (blood money). The composite gilding (*dres-ma'i zhun-bu*) and the old monks' labour shall not exceed that price. So the soldier's portrait.

As for the five types of heroes (*dpa'*), they are as follows: [1] the virtue of the heroes is that they suppress the enemies; [2] the virtue of the wise is that they rule the political council; [3] the virtue of the advocates (*smras-pa*) is that they make legal arguments (*shags kyi thebs-pa*); [4] the virtue of the powerful (*drag-po*) is that they are broad-chested men and [5] the virtue of the collectors (*bsags-pa*) is that they are able to distribute [the wealth].

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.3.6b}**

*na lnga ni zhal lce sna lnga la bya ste/ mi stong dge'i zhal lce/ gnyen byed tshis kyi zhal lce/ snyon rtol dkar mi'i zhal lce/ mdo lon zhu gcod kyi zhal lce/ nye du lhum*[266] *chos kyi zhal lce'o/*

*khrims sna lnga ni/ khri rtse 'bum bzher gyi khrims dang gcig stong 'jams chun lag gi khrims dang gnyis/ bka' lung rgyal khrims dang gsum/ dbang bcad spyi khrims dang bzhi/ 'bro bza' byang chub kyi khrims bu chung dang lnga'o/*

*de la khri rtse 'bum bzher bya ba ni/ sa bdag rgyal po'i nor stor na khrims*[267] *chig stong / dge 'dun la khrims*[268]*/ smangs*[269] *la stong / de ches nas bzhag stong 'jam chun lag bya ba ni/ yul gzhan nas nor stor nas/ yul gcig gi phu ru byung na/ chad pa mda' la bcad de/ ma 'thad par bzhag*

*dbang bcad [spyi] khrims bya ba ni/ rje'i bang so rtsig pa'i dus su/ nyi ma re la pho ma byung na ra gcig mo ma byung na bong bu gcig gi khrims bcas so/*

*bka' lung rgyal khrims ni/ sa bdag rgyal po'i nor stor*[270] *na brgya 'jal/ dkon cog la brgyad cu 'jal/ 'bangs la brgyad 'jal lo/*

*'bro bza'i khrims bu chung ma ni/ skyes pa la pho phyag slob/ bza' ma la mo phyag slob/ phyug po yong gi rtsa ba zhing la mu rdo 'dzugs/ ston dpyid kyi spar kha myam pa'o/*

*rgod sna lnga ni/ rgod kyi zang*[271] *ma rgyal po bya/ rgod kyi rjes 'dra/ yig tshang dur mchad/ bran zhing dang ldan pa'o/*

*rgod kyi zhang blon ni dur mchad bran zhing dang ldan pa la bya'o/ rgod kyi yang rje ni tha ma'i bran zhing dang ldan pa'o/ rgod kyi rjes 'dra ba/ stong thang lnga*

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266 The editor corrects this to *'dum*.
267 The editor corrects this to *khri*.
268 The editor corrects this to *khri*.
269 The editor corrects this to *dmangs*.
270 The editor inserts *brkus*.
271 Read *zangs*.

*stong lnga bcu las med pa/ stong du dres ma'i zhun bu dang / ban rga lag las med pa de rgod kyi rjes so/*

*dpa'*[272] *sna lnga ni/ dpa' bo'i dge dgra mgo non pa'o/ mdzangs pa'i dge srid kyi mdun sa zin pa/ smras pa'i dge shags thebs pa/ drag po'i dge pho khog che ba/ bsags pa'i dge gtong phod nus pa'o/* (*Lde'u*: 267-69).

## Analysis {3.3.6}

As with the catalogue of the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) included in the previous catalogue, some of these measures, according to the outline of the *SLS* in *Jo sras*, belong elsewhere. *Jo sras*, for example, outlines as separate measures the five kinds of laws (*khrims*) at {2.1.7} and {3.4.1}, the five kinds of statutes/lawsuits (*zhal-mchu*) at {2.1.8} and {3.4.2} and the five kinds of soldiers at {2.1.9} and {3.4.3}. Of these, however, only the first overlaps with the present catalogue enough to warrant comparison. *Jo sras*' catalogue is more detailed, however, so a detailed analysis of the five kinds of laws will be reserved for the analysis at {3.5.2}, which forms part of the thirty-six institutions.

As noted at {3.1.6}, the terms 'god' (*bla, sku-bla*), 'body' (*sku*) and 'presence' (*zha-snga, ring*) can all be used to refer to the Tibetan emperor. The first of these terms is most difficult, however, as *bla* indicates not only 'god', but also 'authority', 'high' and 'soul'. In Old Tibetan it is the first two meanings that predominate, and the catalogue of the five *bla* obviously refers to 'authorities'. Of these five authorities, the only one that presents a problem is the high minister, who is either the 'authority of power' or the 'authority of governors' (*dgung-blon dbang gi bla*). This is due to the

[272] The editor inserts *dge*.

multivalent usage of another term, *dbang*, which can mean ‘power’ or, as noted above, ‘governor’. However, the latter is usually spelled *dbang-po*, and given the vague nature of the previous authority—that of ‘politics’ (*srid*)—it is likely that ‘power’ is the intended meaning here.

The only other authority that merits attention is ‘the minister of the interior, authority of accounting (*rtsis*)’. The *Old Tibetan Annals* contains several entries that relate to accounting carried out at the meeting of the political council. These ‘accounts’ record taxes, the levying of troops, promotions to political office and so forth, and are discussed in greater detail at {3.3.7b}.

The catalogue of the five stages in a lawsuit (*zhal-lce*) borrows heavily from the catalogue of the nine *bkra* at {3.3.2a}, which concerns the use of wooden slips in the various stages of a criminal case. That catalogue indeed cites ‘the five *na* [of the] stages in a lawsuit’ (*zhal-lce na lnga*), and the contents are analysed in detail at {3.3.2a}. Only the last two stages in present catalogue add something new to this analysis. The ‘law created at the request of the Mdo-blon’ (*mdo-lon zhu gcod kyi zhal-lce*) is in fact the title of one of the six legal codes catalogued at {3.5.2}. As a result of its inclusion here, it is conspicuously absent from *Lde'u*’s immediately following catalogue of the five types of law. The final stage in the lawsuit, concerning the custom of reconciliation, seems to be intended as a method of making amends between the complainant and the accused at the end of the trial. This type of practice is well-known in pre-modern Tibetan legal customs as a means for achieving closure at the end of legal proceedings (FRENCH 1995: 126).

*Lde'u*’s catalogue of the five types of laws (*khrims*) appears to be another interpolated catalogue that disfigures the original in order to fit it into the numeric scheme of the double cycle of ten catalogues. The catalogue in fact relates to the six

legal codes, and *Lde'u* names these elsewhere at {3.5.2}. In that same section, *Jo sras* also offers five types of laws, but these do not fully correspond to the present catalogue. Of the laws mentioned in the present catalogue, the first, that of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, is by far the most famous, and is found in all of the corresponding catalogues. Likewise, the general law created by the governors (*dbang-bcad spyi'i khrims*) is also well-documented. The proclaimed royal law (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*) is unique to *Lde'u*, but is catalogued in detail at {3.6.3}, where it partly corresponds with *KhG*'s catalogue of the third of the six legal codes. The law of Stong-'jam Chun-lag and the law of Lady 'Bro Byang-chub are otherwise unattested.

The abbreviated catalogues of the laws that follow overlap considerably with the catalogues of the six legal codes at {3.6}, and a detailed analysis of such practices as the punishment of theft, for example, will be reserved for those catalogues. Some of the language is quite opaque. The phrase *nor stor*, for example, usually understood as 'to lose or destroy property or wealth', here indicates theft. This is evident from the law of Stong-'jam Chun-lag, which states 'in a case where someone steals (*nor stor*) the property from an area, and it shows up in the upper part (*phu*) of another area'. Obviously lost or destroyed goods would not necessitate such consideration. The editor, however, has added the word 'stolen' (*brkus*) to the end of *nor stor* in one place to try to bring it into line with common use.

The editor also changed several words in the abbreviated description of the law Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher in an attempt to make sense of it, but the passage remains all but unreadable with or without these edits. Further, it is not valuable enough to hold our interest, as the same topic—the punishment for theft according to the class of the victim—is treated in one of the catalogues that follows.

The nature of the second law, called Stong-'jam Chun-lag, is more interesting in that it militates against guilt by association, which, as we have seen in {3.3.2a}, was a persistent concern in imperial Tibet. In this connection, the law's statement that the lower part (*mda'*) of an area will not be punished for thefts committed by those in the upper part (*phu*) of that area might be intended as a metaphor that extends beyond cases of theft. Indeed, if the metaphor is expansive, this would indicate that a man's descendants should not be punished for his crime. Given what we know already about the inclusion of kin in charges against a given person, however, this seems unlikely, and the passage only explicitly concerns guilt by territorial association.

The next law, the general law created by the governors, is particularly fascinating, as it indicates that the construction of royal tombs was a communal effort, enforced through legal punishment. It is interesting in this regard that a woman's presence appears to be more highly valued than a man's, as women are taxed one donkey for each day of absenteeism while men are taxed only a goat. This may indicate that the measure concerns the actual construction of the tomb less than it concerns communal attendance and mourning at an emperor's committal to his tomb. Therefore the present law might be viewed as enforcing a 'mourning tax'.

The short description of the 'proclaimed royal law' is essentially an outline of the 'six proclaimed royal laws' at {3.6.2}, and its contents will be considered in detail there.

The 'addendum' is a law created by Lady 'Bro Byang-chub. She is well-known as one of the wives of Khri Srong-lde-btsan. In particular, she supposedly became a nun after the death of her son. She dedicated a bell at Bsam-yas Monastery, and a Buddhist text attributed to her is included in the *'Phang thang ma Catalogue* (HALKIAS 2004: 55-56). The contents of her law are found elsewhere in the *SLS* at

{3.8.3}, where they are attributed to Wen-cheng Kong-co, the Chinese princess who came to Tibet in 641 as the bride of Khri Gung-srong Gung-rtsan. Given the absurd number of innovations attributed to the Chinese princess, it is tempting to take *Lde'u*'s attribution of these measures to 'Bro Byang-chub at face value. There is, however, little reason to do so, and the emphasis on astrology recommends the Chinese princess as the author of these innovations.

Moving on from the five types of laws to the five types of soldiers, we encounter one of the most enigmatic catalogues in the *Section on Law and State*. As mentioned above, *Jo sras* also contains a catalogue of the five types of soldiers, and, as one would expect, it lists five different kinds of soldiers. This is not the case here. *Lde'u* has simply taken a tradition surrounding the funerary rites of military officials, and broken it up to fit it into the numeric scheme of the five types of soldiers. In doing so, the catalogue is reduced to nonsense, but the tradition it is meant to describe is explained briefly in the passage following the catalogue.

The statement that the funeral rites and tombs (*dur mchad*) of the military ministers should be made 'together with fields and bondservants' is intriguing. One possibility is that his bondservants were interred with him, but given the inclusion of fields in the clause, this becomes impossible. At the risk of straying into the realm of Egyptology, this more likely refers to effigies of fields and bondservants interred with the military minister to accompany him in the realm of the dead (*dga' dang skyid-pa'i yul/ gshin-yul*). As with life, the afterlife appears to be socially stratified, and the subordinate military lords (*rgod kyi yang-rje*) are interred with (effigies of) inferior fields and servants.

Another fascinating aspect of this passage is its mention of portraiture in connection with a solder's funeral rites. Here poetic use is made of the term

‘compensation price’ or ‘blood money’ (*stong-thang*), as it is this sum that is used to create a gilded likeness of the deceased soldier, presumably intended to represent him in his tomb and in the afterlife. Thus the monetary value attached to the soldier in life is used to purchase his likeness in the afterlife. This portrait is created by old monks (*ban rga*), which suggests a certain degree of cooperation or permissiveness concerning the older Tibetan beliefs in an afterlife in the land of the dead, and the newly-imported Buddhist belief in reincarnation. This is not entirely surprising, given that the first Tibetan Buddhist texts dealing with funerary rites tended to be oriented not towards enlightenment or ‘precious human birth’, but towards rebirth in a divine sphere (IMAEDA 1981: 84-85; IMAEDA *forthcoming b*).

Just as the catalogue of the five types of soldiers concerns something else entirely, the catalogue of the five types of heroes is in fact a catalogue of the five virtues (*dge*), as the editor of *Lde'u* notes when he ‘corrects’ *dpa'* to *dge*. While the first two virtues in the catalogue are formulaic, the last three deserve some attention. The third, the virtue of the advocates (*smras-pa*), suggests the existence of a class of legal specialist not unlike a lawyer or barrister, whose responsibility it is to make legal arguments (*shags kyi thebs-pa*). In the Old Tibetan legal text PT 1071, there is a similar type of figure known as a *'dam-po*, who is entitled to half of the compensation money awarded should the complainant be successful. In his reading of this same Old Tibetan document, Btsan-lha Ngag-dbang Tshul-khrims sees the *'dam-po* as ‘one who reveals hidden crimes’ (*lkog tu nyes skyon ther 'don byed mkhan*), or, in a word, a prosecutor (BTSAN-LHA 1997: 363). Whether Btsan-lha reads too far into this or not, the passage does confirm the existence of legal professionals during the period of the Tibetan Empire.

The final two virtues mentioned are unknown elsewhere. The virtue of the powerful (*drag-po*) suggests *sku-drag*, the pre-modern term for aristocracy. The last virtue, that of the collectors (*bsags-pa*) who are able to distribute [wealth], is probably not a paean to a Tibetan social welfare system, but simply recognises the importance of tax revenue to the Tibetan imperial administration.

## Introduction {3.3.7}

The seventh measure in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the four *bka'* and the four *rtsis*.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.7a}: the Four Orders (*bka'*)

### *Lde'u* {3.3.7a}

As for the four orders and the four accounts, [the four orders are as follows]: [1] the white lion of the east that will not be chained to the iron lattice (*lcags-dra*); [2] the black bear (*dom-sgrom*) of the south whose mouth will not open; [3] the red bird of the west whose neck will not be cut; and [4] the pale deerskin of the north that will not be marked.

### *Lde'u* {3.3.7a}

*bka' bzhi rtsis bzhi ni shar seng ge dkar mo lcags dra la mi gdags/ lho dom sgrol nag po kha mi dbye/ nub bya dmar mo ske mi gcod/ byang sha lpags skya mo la thig mi gdab bo/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

### Analysis {3.3.7a}

This catalogue differs slightly from that announced in the outline of the double cycle of ten catalogues at {3.2.7}. There the black bear of the south is not a *dom-sgrom*, but a *dom-sgrol*. This is further confirmation that several errors have entered this text through its transcription from *dbu-med* to *dbu-can* writing, as the '*l*' and '*m*' look very similar in *dbu-med*. Unfortunately, I can make little sense of either reading. This same image is employed later in *Lde'u* (366), in connection with the dissolution of the empire and the unravelling of these institutions (VITALI 2004: 110, n. 6). The final image, associated with the north, differs markedly in the outline and the catalogue. In the former it is the 'red road that will not be marked', while the catalogue lists the 'pale deerskin that will not be marked'. As the other images involve animals, this latter alternative is the most acceptable. This catalogue is also discussed briefly in DUNG-DKAR 2002: 180.

Similar associations of colours and symbols with the four directions within an administrative framework are found in Tang China in connection with the imperial guards surrounding the emperor. Those in the east were associated with a blue dragon, those in the west with a white tiger, those in the south with a red sparrow and those in the north with a black warrior (DES ROTOURS 1952: 100). Neither the colours nor symbols correspond with those of the present catalogue, but the conceptual framework underlying these directionally-oriented symbols is not dissimilar.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.7b}: the Four *Rtsis*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.7b}

As for the four accounts, there is [1] the accounting of fees with pebbles, [2] the accounting of bodyguards, [3] accounting of religious estates,[273] and [4] accounting of aristocracy (*sku-rgyal*).

### *Lde'u* {3.3.7b}

*rtsis bzhi ni/ lde'u drin gyi rtsis/ sku srung gi rtsis/ / lha ris gyi rtsis/ sku rgyal gyi rtsis so/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

## Analysis {3.3.7b}

As with the catalogue of the four orders, the present catalogue differs slightly from that announced in the outline of the double cycle of ten catalogues at {3.2.7}. The orthography of the latter as regards the first accounting—that of accounting fees with pebbles (*rde'u rin gyi rtsis*)—is certainly preferable to the catalogue's 'accounting kind riddles' (*lde'u drin gyi rtsis*). This is reminiscent of Tibet's early record-keeping, which, according to the *Old Tang Annals*, depended on notched pieces of wood and knotted strings (BUSHELL 1880: 440). Both outline and catalogue agree on the accounting of bodyguards, and this presumably relates to the 'bodyguard regiments' (*sku-srung gi stong-sde*) catalogued at {3.3.1b}. There is also general agreement on the accounting of the religious estates and the aristocracy. The latter are

273 In the initial outline it reads *lha-rin*. The reading *lha-ris* seems to make more sense in the context.

referred to as *sku-rgyal*, probably a gloss on the term *dku-rgyal*, whose meaning was presumably unclear to the compilers.

The term ‘account’ (*rtsis*) is found throughout the *Old Tibetan Annals*, where it refers to accounting and census in a restrictive sense, but is also employed in a more general sense, as in the meaning of the phrase, ‘to make an account’ of something. CHANG KUN (1959-60: 136-37), in a useful article, collated all of the instances where this term was employed in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and from his work it is evident that the term cannot only be read in the restrictive sense it seems to carry in the present catalogue. One possibility that has been suggested before is that this general administrative meaning of the term evolved from its initial, restrictive meaning, which was ‘to incise’, and related to record keeping on tally sticks (PETECH 1967: 276).

## Introduction {3.3.8}

The eighth measure in the double cycle of ten catalogues is the three *khams* and the three *chos*.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.8a}: the Three *Khams*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.8a}

As for the three regions and three customs, [the three regions are]: the three upper regions, three lower regions and three central regions. Alternately, they are Mdo-khams, Bde-khams and Tsong-khams.

***Lde'u*** **{3.3.8a}**

*khams gsum chos gsum ni/ stod khams gsum/ smad khams gsum/ dbus khams gsum mo/ yang na mdo khams/ bde*[274] *khams/ tsong khams so/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

## Analysis {3.3.8a}

Given the later development of Khams as a province in Eastern Tibet, it is interesting that the term region (*khams*) here only indicates places in Eastern Tibet. The present catalogue poses some interesting questions concerning the historical geography of Eastern Tibet. Bde-khams, for example, is found in Old Tibetan documents as 'the realm of pacification, or the realm of the pacification minister' (Bde-khams/ Bde-blon-khams). A passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* states that after the sack of the Chinese capital, Great Bde-blon-khams was 'created anew'.

> Dba's Btsan-bzher Mdo-lod and others led campaigns from Mkhar-tshan upwards. They sacked the eight towns of the prefecture (*mkhar-cu-pa brgyad*), expelled the rebel leaders and subjected [the others] (*dor-po bton-te/ 'bangs-su bzhes-so*).[275] The polity being great, they seized [the land from] Long-shan mountain range upwards and established the five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts (*khri-sde*). Great Bde-blon-khams was created anew. (*dba's btsan bzher mdo lod la stsogs pas / mkhar tshan yan chad du drangste / mkhar cu pa brgyad phab nas / dor po bton te / 'bangs su bzhes so / / chab srId che ste long shan la rgyud yan chad / / pyag du bzhes nas / mthong khyab khrI sde lnga btsugs / bde blon khams ched po gchig gsar du bskyed do / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 381-84).

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[274] The editor 'corrects' this to *bod*. It is evident from the original manuscript that the editor's reading of Bod-khams is nothing more than a transcription error in which a *'greng-bu* was mistaken for a *na-ro*, thus rendering *bde* as *bod*. This is an easy error to make, as Bod-khams is well-known, while Bde-khams is not.

[275] Reading this passage, BTSAN-LHA (1997: 336) reads *dor-po* as 'rebel leaders' (*ngo-log-pa'i gte-po*).

This dates to 763 or shortly thereafter, but the phrase ‘created anew’ (*gsar du bskyed*) would seem to indicate that the province already existed. It appears that this district is comprised mainly of the five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts.

The name of this area, the “realm of pacification” (Bde-khams) or the “realm of the pacification minister” (Bde-blon-khams/ Bde-blon-ris) likely derives from the fact that when half of the 'A-zha fled to Liangzhou in China in 663 following Tibetan attacks, the Chinese created a new province to accommodate them, and named it An-lo District, meaning ‘peaceful and happy’, or rather, ‘pacified’. When the Tibetans a century captured this territory later, the name seems to have simply been translated as the ‘realm of bliss/ pacification’ (Bde-khams) (LI 1981: 177).[276]

From the *Prayers of De-ga G.yu-mtshal* in IOL Tib J 751 it appears that Bde-lon-khams was located within the larger territory of Mdo-khams. This is evident from the fact that while the offerings and gifts are qualified as those of the governors of the territory of Mdo-gams, the first prayer mentioned is that of the Bde-blon.[277] This passage not only confirms the existence of Mdo-khams in Old Tibetan sources, but also demonstrates that it contained Bde-blon-khams and its five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts, thus placing it near the border with China.[278]

Considering the historical geography of Eastern Tibet during the imperial period, the present catalogue omits Mdo-smad, one of the most important areas. The *Old Tibetan Annals* records in each yearly entry not only the sites of the political

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[276] The history of this province, along with the historical geography of neighbouring areas in the Tibetan imperial administration in Eastern Tibet, is summarised in RICHARDSON 1998 [1990b]: 173.

[277] The text begins, ‘Through the construction of the Treaty Temple on the plain, and through blessings and merit of the governors of the realm of Mdo-gams, who present gifts and offer to the three jewels...’ (*# / : / thang du gtsigs kyI gtsug lag khang bzhengs par mdo gams kyI khams kyi dbang po rnams kyIs dkon mcog gsum la mcod cIng yon phul ba 'dI'i bsod nams dang / byin gyI rlabs*) (IOL Tib J 751, 35a1). Shortly after, the text states, ‘when the treaty temple of De-ga was consecrated (*zhal-bsro*), they offered the prayer of the Bde-blon’ *(# / / de ga gtsIgs kyi gtsug lag khang zhal bsro ba'I tshe bde blon gyI smon lam du gsol ba' /*) (IOL Tib J 751, 35a3-35a4).

[278] RONG (1990-91: 256) contends that Mthong-khyab refers to a people who lived on Tibet’s fluctuating border with China, and who formed the vanguard of Tibet’s military forces in the northeast.

councils of Tibet, but often those of Mdo-smad as well. The first of these is recorded in the entry for the dragon year 692. Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict, preserved in *KhG*, was copied thirteen times, and each of these copies was sent to a separate place. Among these places, copies were sent to Mdo-smad and Bde-blon-ris (RICHARDSON 1998 [1980]: 93, 96). UEBACH (2003: 24) writes that Mdo-smad may have bordered Sum-ru/ Sumpa's Horn in the east and comprised parts of present day Khams and of A-mdo south of the Yellow River. If this is the case, then we can probably place Mdo-khams and its subordinate unit, Bde-blon-khams, to the north and northeast.

Looking to the third region in the catalogue, Tsong-khams almost certainly indicates Tsong-kha. Tsong-kha is found in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, which refers to both greater and lesser Tsong-kha (*DTH*: 18, 39, 57, 64, 65). This would seem to overlap with the area just indicated for Mdo-khams. RICHARDSON (1998 [1990b]: 169, 173) suggests that Tsong-kha was under the jurisdiction of the military government (*khrom*) of Dbyar-mo-thang, which itself, like the military governments of Tshal-byi and Kwa-cu, was subordinate to Bde-blon-khams. In reverse order of magnitude, then, we have the large province of Mdo-khams, and within it Bde-blon-khams, which held jurisdiction over subordinate units such as Tsong-kha and the military governments of Dbyar-mo-thang, Tshal-byi and Kwa-cu.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.8b}: the Three *Chos*

### *Lde'u* {3.3.8b}

The three customs (*chos*) are: customs of speech/ the teachings (*bka'-chos*), the customs of melody (*dbyangs-chos*) and the customs of astrology (*rtsis-chos*).

***Lde'u* {3.3.8b}**

*chos gsum la bka' chos/ dbyang*[279] *chos/ rtsis chos so/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

## Analysis {3.3.8b}

This catalogue is in perfect agreement with the outline. Brief as it is, there is some difficulty in divining the catalogue's intended meaning. The term *bka'-chos* is often used for religious teachings, but here it may just as well indicate customs of speech. Likewise, *rtsis-chos* could indicate either the customs of accounting or those of astrology. Thematically, the latter is more likely.

## Introduction {3.3.9, 3.3.10}

The ninth and tenth measures in the double cycle of ten catalogues are 'the pair', and the emperor himself. They are nearly identical and are therefore included here together.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.3.9, 3.3.10}: the 'Pair' and the Ruler

***Lde'u* {3.3.9, 3.3.10}**

[279] Read *dbyangs*.

{3.3.9} The body [of the emperor] and the polity (*chab-srid*) are called 'the pair'.

{3.3.10} Condensed into one, they are all gathered under the rank (*thabs*) of the ruler.

***Lde'u* {3.3.9, 3.3.10}**

*gnyis ka zhes pa sku dang chab srid do/*

*gcig tu bsdu ba ni/ mnga' bdag gi thabs 'og tu thams cad 'du ba'o/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

## Analysis {3.3.9, 3.3.10}

The final two catalogues reveal a relentlessly royalist remit that attributes all of Tibet's administrative measures to the emperor himself. Its formulation of a dyad, 'the pair', of the ruler and the polity is important in terms of Tibetan political theory. In particular, the employment here of the honorific term 'body' to refer to the emperor in this dyad is reminiscent of another famous 'pair' within medieval political theory, the 'body natural' and 'body politic' of the Christian kings of medieval Europe. The development of this strand of 'political theology' is described in detail in Ernst Kantorowicz's landmark study, *The King's Two Bodies*. Here the reigning king, as a living representative of the institution of kingship, takes on the role of Christ and/or God (KANTOROWICZ 1957: 88-90). The 'body natural' refers to the king's ephemeral earthly body, and the 'body politic' to the king as the eternal apotheosis of his realm. Often referred to respectively as lowercase 'king' and uppercase 'King', one might as easily write 'king' and 'kingship'. There are, however, many more permutations to

the ‘body politic’, which shifts with the times from being understood as a stand-in for Christ to being an apotheosis of the realm.

While quite a different ‘political theology’ operated in Tibet, the pairing in the *SLS* of the ‘body’ and the ‘polity’ forms a clear parallel with the ‘king’s two bodies’ Kantrorowicz describes. We have seen in the introduction that the sacerdotal authors of Tibet’s religious histories conceived of Tibet as the chosen ‘field of conversion’ of the divine bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Within this formulation of Tibetan political theory, the ruler is Avalokiteśvara’s earthly representative. Looking at the institution of Tibetan rulership in general, from the emperors to the Dalai Lamas, it is Avalokiteśvara, through his incarnation in successive rulers, who provides narrative (and political) continuity. In fact, this distinction between the earthly body of the ruler, designated by the term *sku* in its pairing with ‘polity’ (*chab-srid*), and the institution of rulership itself seems to be evident in the final line of the double cycle of ten catalogues, which names not the ruler, but the ‘office’ or ‘rank’ of the ruler (*mnga'-bdag gi thabs*).

Similar such pairings are found in earlier formulations of Tibetan political theory, where the union of heaven and earth symbolises the unity of lord and subjects (STEIN 2003 [1985]: 550-54). This and similar metaphors, which symbolise the proper relationship between the ruler and his subjects, also have sexual and marital associations, and this forms another parallel with European medieval political theology, where the ruler and his realm, like Christ and his church, were presented as a married couple (KANTOROWICZ 1957: 212ff.).

## {3.4} A Return to the Catalogues Introduced in the Composite Outline

### Introduction {3.4}

The double cycle of ten catalogues in *Lde'u* interrupts the flow of the catalogues in relation to the composite outline. As noted in the introduction, *Jo sras* is more faithful to the outline than *Lde'u*, and this is evident from the fact that three of the four catalogues that follow are found only in *Jo sras*. The catalogue that should, according to the composite outline, appear at {3.4.1}, the five types of laws, relates to the six legal codes, and is therefore translated and analysed at {3.5.2}. As a result, we begin with {3.4.2}, the five types of statutes (*zhal-mchu*).

### Translation and Transliteration {3.4.2}: the Five Kinds of Statutes (*zhal-mchu*)

#### *Jo sras* {3.4.2}

As for the five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*) they are: [1] the law (*zhal-che*) of strongholds (*brten-pa mkhar*) at the time when Tibet was divided into districts; [2] the law of livelihoods—agricultural and pastoral—at the time when Tibet was divided into horns; [3] the law of wealth and riches—the necessities of both upper and lower

[classes]; [4] the law of the upright black-headed men (*'greng mgo nag mi*)[280] [and the one who] became their ruler; [5] the law of the priests (*mchod-gnas*) and elder monks (*gnas-brtan*), who are precious to Tibetan lords and subjects.

***Jo sras* {3.4.2}**

*zhal mchu rnam pa lnga ni / bod sder gcad pa'i dus su brten pa mkhar gyi zhal che/ bod rur gcad pa'i dus su 'tsho ba yul 'brog gi zhal che/ gong ma dang 'og ma gnyis ka la dgos pa kon nor dbyig gi zhal che/ de dag gi bdag por gyur pa 'dreng 'og*[281] *nag mi'i zhal che bod rje 'bangs spyir gces pa mchod gnas zhing*[282] *gnas*[283] *kyi zhal che'o/* (*Jo sras*: 113).

## Analysis {3.4.2}

While this catalogue announces the five kinds of statutes (*zhal-mchu*), it goes on to list five laws (*zhal-che*). It seems, therefore, that z*hal-mchu* is used here as a synonym for *zhal-che*, which, in turn, might be viewed as a variant of *zhal-lce*, the usual spelling of this term in the *SLS* (cf. *supra*, {3.3.2a}. These terms require some explanation. First, the term *zhal-mchu* is ostensibly the honorific of *kha-mchu*, which means 'lawsuit' or 'dispute'. The term *zhal-mchu* is found in PT 1101 (l. 9), an Old Tibetan tax record, where it refers to a legal case. The term *zhal-lce* is unattested in Old Tibetan, but *zhal-ce* and *zhal-ces* are well-known, and indicate 'law' in a specific

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280 On the meaning of upright (*'greng*) as a signifier for humans, as opposed to animals, and its use in the phrase *'greng mgo nag*, see URAY 1967a.
281 Read *'greng mgo*,
282 Read *shing*.
283 Read *gnas brtan*.

sense. Here the *zhal* in *zhal-ce/-ces* may well be related to *'jal/bcal/gzhal/'jol*, 'weigh, assess, ponder, judge'.

The construction of these terms with honorific nouns relating to the face and mouth, in particular *zhal*, meaning 'mouth', is striking, and may refer metaphorically to the court itself. The term *zhal-mchu* is honorific for *mchu-tho*, meaning lips. *Zhal-lce* would appear to be the honorific for *lce*, meaning tongue, but the usual honorific for tongue is *ljags*. This hints at the possible development of *zhal-lce* as a folk etymology of *zhal-ces*: the *zhal* in *zhal-ces* may have been read by analogy with the use of *zhal* as 'mouth' in compounds such as *zhal-mchu*, in which case the relation of *zhal* to *'jal/bcal/gzhal/'jol* would be lost. As a result, the second syllable would be rendered nonsensical, and might have easily been replaced by its homonym, *lce*.

Considering the statutes themselves, the first, concerning the establishment of strongholds and the division of territory into districts, appears to be very similar to the later 'district fortress' (*rdzong*) system, where each district was governed by a magistrate (*rdzong-dpon*) who legislated the region from his 'district fortress' (*rdzong*), usually perched on top of a small hill. It is difficult to sustain such a conclusion, however, based on the fact that this catalogue is really no more than an outline, and gives no details about the statutes it announces.

The second statute concerns the division of agricultural and pastoral livelihoods, a theme taken up elsewhere in the *SLS*. Here it is explicitly associated with the division of Tibet into horns, which would place it in the second half of the seventh century. The third statute is too general to merit detailed consideration. The fourth echoes the sentiments of imperial Tibetan political theory, according to which the Tibetan emperor descended from heaven to ruler over both the animals and the 'upright black-headed men' (*'greng mgo nag*) (URAY 1967a). The final statute is also

quite general, but would seem to relate to the legislation of the Buddhist clergy and its estates. Here I read *mchod-gnas* and *gnas-brtan* as referring to priests and elder monks, but these terms can also refer to places. This is less common, but the catalogue leaves room for either interpretation.

## Introduction {3.4.3}

The following catalogue of the five types of soldiers, found only in *Jo sras*, does not correspond to the catalogue in *Lde'u* with the same title at {3.3.6b}.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.4.3}: the Five Types of Soldiers

***Jo sras* {3.4.3}**

As for the five types of soldiers, they are: [1] those armoured soldiers with the five types of human armour or horse armour; two: those who, though armoured, are fleet-footed (*rkang-rings*); three: those wearing armour and breastplate (*go phub gon*); four: those who, in formation, pursue sheep (*bshar lug 'ded*) and five: those who carry the soft and the lazy (*'bol blag khur*).

***Jo sras* {3.4.3}**

*dmag sna lnga ni/ mi zhub rta zhub rnam lnga zhub dang bcas pa/ zhub kyang rkang rings dang gnyis/ go phub gon dang gsum/ bshar lug 'ded dang bzhi/ 'bol glag*[284] *khur dang lnga'o/* (*Jo sras*: 113)

## Analysis {3.4.3}

This catalogue poses a number of linguistic problems. The third type of soldier, for example, wears armour and a breastplate (*go phub gon*). Breastplate is a secondary meaning of *phub*, which usually means shield. As it is followed by the verb 'to wear' (*gon*), however, breastplate is the preferable translation. The last two types of soldiers are the most obscure, and the terms used to describe them appear to be partly metaphorical. The soldiers who, 'in formation, pursue sheep' (*bshar lug 'ded*) are probably nothing like shepherds. More likely, this indicates infantry, and 'pursued sheep' is a metaphorical description of the enemy. Likewise, the soldiers who 'carry the soft and the lazy' (*'bol blag khur*) could refer to medics or those who are charged with transporting provisions and other necessities. I have read *glag* here as *blag*, which, according to BTSAN-LHA (1997: 574), means 'one who does not want to greatly exert himself' (*'bad-pa cher mi dgos-pa*). Reading the phrase as it stands, *glag* indicates a bird of prey, and renders the phrase nonsensical. Perhaps the text is corrupted via transcription or otherwise, but was meant to indicate some sort of soldier akin to a falconer.

An evocative passage in *GK* (118; CHANDRA 1982: 146; *kha*, 21b, ll. 4-5) describes Tibet's 'red-faced demon soldiers' (*srin-po gdong-dmar bod kyi dmag-dpung*) during the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan.

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[284] Read *blag*.

> To the front, one hundred champions ride horses and clear the way. The leaders on the right are one hundred heroes wearing tiger skins. The leaders on the left are one hundred tantrists holding aloft mystical daggers (*phur bu*). Following behind, one hundred *myul*[285] in full armour carrying spears. (*sngon gyi gshul sel gyad mi rta zhon brgya/ /g.yas kyi ru 'dren dpa' bo stag chas brgya/ /g.yon gyi ru 'dren sngags mkhan phur [bu] thogs brgya/ /slad kyi rjes myul zhub chen mdung thogs brgya*).

This description is more or less fantastical, but the inclusion of tantrists in battle—whatever period it pertains to—is quite fascinating, given the role of their 'magic missiles' (*mthu*) in the sectarian warfare of the early second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (*phyi dar*).

Old Tibetan sources reveal the existence of several types of soldiers. These all seem to fall under the term 'military' (*rgod*). The legal document PT 1071 mentions both 'royal subjects with military duties' (*rgyal-'bangs rgod-do-'tshal*), and 'military subjects' (*'bangs rgod-do-'tshal*), the latter being of a lower status. As we have seen already, the term 'tiger' (*stag*) refers to the officer class, and this seems to be further subdivided according to emblems of rank. Among these are the 'tigers with the "pitchforks"' (*zar*), a rank that, according to PT 1089, is divided into greater and lesser tiers (*supra*, {3.3.4b}). These, however, rank below the little heads of thousand-districts (*stong-cung*), heads of thousand-districts, heads of ten-thousand-districts and horn officials. Another Old Tibetan legal document, IOL Tib J 740 (2), refers to *mun-mag*/ *mun-dmag*, who are conscripted as soldiers from the estates where they labour. The term appears to be synonymous with soldier (*dmag*), but may also carry the meaning 'conscripted soldier'. Apart from these, there were other classes of soldiers who served as watch-post attendants (TAKEUCHI 2003: 48-49). To summarise, while

285 One meaning of *myul* is 'spy', but this makes little sense here, since we are dealing with fully armed troops.

Old Tibetan documents reveal little about the specialisations of different types of soldiers (e.g., infantry, cavalry, etc.), they do record the social stratification and rank order of the Tibetan military. This can be organised into three tiers.

Commanding Officers:
Generals (*dmag-dpon*)
Horn officials (*ru-dpon*)[286]
Heads of ten-thousand-districts (*khri-dpon*)
Great, mid-rank and lower rank enemy-subduing ministers (*dgra-blon*)
Heads of thousand-districts (*stong-dpon*)
Attachés to heads of thousand-districts (*stong-zla*)
Little heads of thousand-districts (*stong-cung*)
Attachés to little heads of thousand-districts (*stong-cung gi zla*)

Officer Class:
Tigers and those holding related tiger insignia such as the 'pitchfork' (*zar*)

Soldiers:
Royal subjects with military duties (*rgyal-'bangs rgod-do-'tshal*)
Military subjects (*'bangs rgod-do-'tshal*)
Soldiers (*dmag*)
Conscripted soldiers (*mun-dmag/ mun-mag*)
Watch-post soldiers (*tshugs-dpon*, etc.)

There are likely several other positions that could be included here, and some of those mentioned, such as 'soldiers' (*dmag*) and 'military subjects' (*'bangs rgod-do-'tshal*) may entirely overlap. Likewise, conscripted soldiers might be assigned to watch-post duty.

## Introduction {3.4.4}

The catalogue of the six types of armour immediately precedes the catalogue of the thirty-six institutions.

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286 While the *SLS* equates generals with horn officials, this is not attested in Old Tibetan sources. The placement here of generals above horn officials is necessarily speculative.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.4.4}: the Six Types of Armour

***Jo sras* {3.4.4}**

Concerning the six types of armours (*go*), they are: armour (*khrab*), helmet and cuirass (*khrab-la*), the three, and *sha-ba*, shield and leggings (*rkang-chas*), the three.

***Jo sras* {3.4.4}**

*go drug ni khrab dang / rmog dang / khrab la gsum/ sha ba phub dang rkang chas gsum mo/* (*Jo sras*: 113)

## Analysis {3.4.4}

Rather than indicating six different types of armour, the catalogue appears to list six items that make up a full coat of armour. During the period of the Tibetan Empire, the Tibetans were renowned for their armour. A passage from the *Old Tang Annals* states, 'Their armour and helmets are excellent. When they put them on their whole body is covered, with holes just for the eyes' (SNELLGROVE AND RICHARDSON 1967: 29).

As with the previous catalogue, the present catalogue poses a number of linguistic problems, and the translation is uncertain in places. The two types of armour that pose the most difficult problems are the *khrab-la* and the *sha-ba*. The former literally means 'on the armour', so cuirass or breastplate is not more than a deduction. Even more problematic, the fourth [piece of] armour, the *sha-ba*, means

‘deer’. I can offer no suitable translation for this term as it appears in this passage, and can only speculate that it might indicate some type of leather armour.

## {3.5} The Thirty-Six Institutions

### Introduction {3.5}

As noted in the introduction to the composite outline, the *SLS* in *KhG* is comprised mostly of the six institutions and the thirty-six institutions. While *KhG* refers to the latter as 'institutions' (*khos*), *Lde'u* calls them 'laws' (*khrims*). To review, the correspondences between the two catalogues are as follows:

Table 103: The Thirty-six Institutions (*khos*)/ Laws (*khrims*) {*SLS* 3.5}.

| | ***Lde'u*** | | ***KhG*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | The six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po*) | 1 | The six great principles |
| 2 | The six official laws (*bka'-khrims*) | 6 | The six official legal codes (*bka' 'i khrims-yig drug*) |
| 3 | The six institutions (*khod*) | 4 | The six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) |
| 4 | The six insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) | 2 | The six insignia of rank |
| 5 | The six seals (*phyag-rgya*) | 3 | The six official seals |
| 6 | The six emblems of heroism (*dpa'-rtags*) | 5 | The six emblems of heroism |

The only structural difference between the two catalogues, other than their different ordering of the individual measures, is that where *Lde'u* lists the six institutions, *KhG* lists the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*). Rather than privileging one or the other as a true member of the six institutions, both are analysed here at {3.5.3a} and {3.5.3b}.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5}: Outline of the Thirty-six Laws/ Institutions

### *Lde'u* {3.5}

{1.2} As for the six times six equals thirty-six laws (*khrims*), they are [1] the six great principles, [2] the six official laws (*bka'-khrims*), [3] the six institutions (*khod*), [4] the six insignia of rank, [5] the six seals, and [6] the six emblems of heroism.

### *Lde'u* {3.5}

*khrims drug drug sum cu rtsa drug ni/ bka' gros chen po drug bka' khrims drug khod drug yig tshang drug phyag rgya drug dpa' rtags drug/* (*Lde'u*: 269).

### *KhG* {3.5}

Further, [1] the six great principles, [2] the six insignia of rank, [3] the six official seals, [4] the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*), [5] the six emblems of heroism, and adding on the top of those [6] the six legal codes, comprise the so-called thirty-six institutions of Tibet.

### *KhG* {3.5}

*gzhan yang bka' gros chen po drug yig tshangs drug bka'i phyag rgya drug rkyen drug dpa' mtshan drug de rnams kyi steng du khrims yig drug po bsnan pas bod kyi khos sum bcu rtsa drug zhes bya ste* (*KhG*: 190; 21a, ll. 3-4).

***Jo sras* {3.5}**

Concerning the thirty-six legal codes (*khrims-tshig*), in the king's twelve laws there are the three praises, three scorns, three deeds and three non-deeds and so forth.[287]

***Jo sras* {3.5}**

*khrims tshig sum bcu rtsa drug la/ rgyal po'i khrims bcu gnyis la bstod pa la gsum/ smad pa gsum/ mdzad pa gsum/ mi mdzad pa gsum la sogs pa'o/* (*Jo sras*: 113-14).

## Analysis {3.5}

It is evident from the three outlines that *Jo sras*' outline represents an entirely different tradition from that found in *KhG* and *Lde'u*. Its only common ground with the two other outlines is its title; its contents in fact relate to the third of the six legal codes, analysed at {3.6.3}.

## Introduction {3.5.1}

The first six of the thirty-six institutions are the six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po drug*).

[287] In this case, 'and so forth' refers to the 'three non-harmings'. All of these are catalogued at {3.6.3}.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.1}: the Six Great Principles (*bka'-gros*)

### *Lde'u* {3.5.1}

As for that, concerning the six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po*), they are: one: offer gifts (*zho-sha*) and cherish (*btsa'*) the body of the lord; two: press down the necks (*gnya' gnon*) of the Ldong and Stong and support the backs of the servants' servants (*yang-kheng gi rgyab brten*); three: do not send a servant as a soldier and do not admit women to the council (*mo-btsun bka' la mi gdags*); four: seize spies at the borders and do not sunder fields through horse racing (*rta dkyus kyis mi bcad*); five: defeat the enemies and tend to internal affairs; and six: voluntarily practice the ten virtues and leave behind the ten non-virtues.

### *Lde'u* {3.5.1}

*de la bka' gros drug la/ rje'i sku btsa' zhing zho sha 'bul ba dang gcig ldong stong gi gnya' gnon zhing / yang kheng gi rgab*[288] *brten pa dang gnyis/ kheng rgod du mi btang zhing mo btsun bka' la mi gdags pa dang gsum/ so mtshams su so bzung zhing*[289] *rta dkyus kyis mi gcod pa dang bzhi/ phyi'i dgra 'dul zhing nang gi tshis bya ba dang lnga/ dge ba dang du len zhing mi dge bcu rgyab tu bor ba dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 269-70).

### *KhG* {3.5.1}

[288] Read *rgyab*.
[289] The editor inserts *'bangs zhing*.

The six great principles (*bka'-gros chen-po*): [1] tend to the body of the lord and offer gifts (*zho-sha*) to the authority; [2] press down the necks of the soldiers (*rgod kyi gnya' gnan*) and support the backs of the servants' servants (*yang-kheng gi rgyab brten*);[290] [3] do not send a servant as a soldier and do not admit women to the council; [4] protect the borders and do not sunder the subjects' fields and groves through horse racing (*'bangs kyi tshal zhing rta dkyus kyis mi bcad*); [5] defeat the enemies and protect the subjects; and [6] practice the ten virtues and abandon the ten non-virtues.

***KhG* {3.5.1}**

*rje'i sku 'tsho zhing zho sha slar*[291] *dbul/ rgod kyi gnya' mnan zhing yang kheng gi rgab*[292] *brten kheng rgod du mi btang zhing mo btsun bka' la mi gdags/ so mtshams srung zhing 'bangs kyi tshal zhing rta dkyus kyis mi bcad/ dgra 'dul zhing 'bangs bskyang / dge bcu sgrub cing mi dge ba bcu spang ba rnams bka' gros chen po drug go* (*KhG*: 190; 21a, ll. 4-5).

## Analysis {3.5.1}

Comparing parallel passages in *Lde'u* and *KhG*, it is usually the case that the latter's language is far clearer. This is partly due to the fact that while *Lde'u* is a mid-thirteenth century text, *KhG* was composed in the middle of the sixteenth century. Another reason for this is that while *KhG* draws on many of the same sources used by

[290] The language here is taken as a metaphor for how to manage the respective military and civilian populations. Alternatively, it would read, 'do not send as soldiers the servants, who are the back-support of the servants' servants'.
[291] Read *blar*.
[292] Read *rgyab*.

*Lde'u*, and indeed employs *Lde'u* itself, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag has a tendency to provide his own glosses for difficult passages that include archaic language. Comparing passages in these two sources one must therefore take into account the fact that while *KhG* is more straightforward, it is sometimes less faithful to the original text.

This dynamic can be observed in the second of the six great principles: while *Lde'u* states, 'press down the necks (*gnya' gnon*) of the Ldong and Stong', *KhG* states, 'press down the necks of the soldiers' (*rgod kyi gnya' mnan*). There are in fact other places in the *Section on Law and State* where Ldong-Stong refers to a military population. In the outline to the *SLS*, for example, section {2.12} states, 'the divisions of the heroes Ldong and Stong tamed the Chinese and Turks (Dru-gu) of the frontiers'. The meaning of Ldong and Stong as Tibetan ethnonyms used separately or in conjunction has been analysed in some detail at {2.7}, and it is hard to understand how, given its meaning in this regard, the term Ldong-Stong doubles as a synonym for soldier. Difficult to grasp though it may be, this is evidently the meaning in the above catalogue, since *KhG*'s gloss can be verified with reference to other parts of the *SLS* that appear to employ Ldong-Stong as a general term referring to a military population. In both sources the phrase 'press down on the napes/ necks' cannot be taken as indicating subjugation, since it obviously refers to Tibetan soldiers. It may therefore be a phrase indicating conscription. The process of soldier conscription in the Tibetan Empire is described in some detail in IOL Tib J 740 (2), which reveals that estate holders were required to send their suitable bondservants as soldiers, and were also forced to provision them with the crops from their harvests (DOTSON *forthcoming b*). This directly contradicts the third of the great principles when it states that one should 'not send a servant as a soldier'. Of course the estate holder would have to retain some of his bondservants in order to complete the harvest and provision

those sent as soldiers, so some of the field-servants would be indispensable and could not be conscripted without the collapse of the whole requisitioning system. The language employed differs, however, in that while IOL Tib J 740 (2) states that 'servants (*bu-bran*) who are suitable to be levied will indeed become soldiers' (*bu bran btu pe'i 'os mchIs pa mchIs nI dmag myi 'ang bab /*) (IOL Tib J 740 (2), ll. 352-53), the *SLS* states that 'servants' (*kheng*) will not be sent as soldiers. This might indicate that the term 'servants' (*kheng*), though uncommon in Old Tibetan sources, indicated a class of servants who were bound to civilian service.

Returning to the first of the six great principles, the term 'gifts' (*zho-sha*) requires some explanation. From Old Tibetan texts and pillar edicts, it is evident that *zho-sha* is a type of institutionalised bribe given to one's superiors, for example, when one seeks promotion. It literally means yogurt and meat, but may well have included many other things besides. As noted by LI AND COBLIN (1987: 286-87), the term also holds a more general meaning, and indicates not only physical gifts, but 'contributions' in the sense of duty or service.

The second part of the third great principle states that women are not to be admitted to the political council. As noted above in the discussion of dynastic marriage and the reign of 'Empress' Khri-ma-lod, women played an essential role in Tibetan politics and in Tibet's international relations. The present catalogue, however, makes it clear that they were excluded from such institutions as the political council.

In reading the fourth great principle, the editor of *Lde'u* obviously had recourse to the parallel passage in *KhG*, and 'corrected' the text accordingly. In both passages the statement concerning horse racing seems slightly out of place. The fifth great principle requires no explanation, but the sixth great principle refers to a system of laws, attributed to Srong-btsan Sgam-po, which legislated the practice of the ten

Buddhist virtues. This tradition will be considered in detail in the analysis of the second of the six legal codes at {3.6.2}.

## Introduction {3.5.2}

The second group of six of the thirty-six institutions consists of an outline of the six legal codes, which are catalogued in detail at {3.6}. Only the outline is considered here, and that of *KhG* has been presented already at {2}.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.2}: the Six Legal Codes

### *Lde'u* {3.5.2}

As for the six legal codes (*khrims*), they are: one: the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher mentioned above; two: the law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can; three: the law that takes the kingdom as its model; four: the law of the Mdo-lon deciding a petition (*mdo-lon zhu bcad kyi khrims*); five: the law [created] at the revenue collectors' insistence (*khab-so nan khrims*); and six: the proclaimed royal law (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*).

### *Lde'u* {3.5.2}

*khrims drug la ni/ gong gi khri rtse 'bum bzher gyi khrims dang gcig*

*'bum gser thang sha ba can gyi khrims dang gnyis/ rgyal khams dpe blang gi khrims dang gsum/ mdo lon zhu bcad kyi khrims dang bzhi/ khab so nan khrims dang lnga/ bka' lung rgyal khrims dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 270).

***KhG* {3.5.2}**

Further, the six legal codes (*khrims-yig*) are: [1] the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher; [2] the law of 100,000 golden roofs with deer ornamentation (*'bum-gser thog sha-ba-can*); [3] the law taking the kingdom as an example (*rgyal-khams dper blangs kyi khrims*); [4] the law created at the request of the Mdo-lon (*mdo-lon zhu bcas*); [5] the general law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*) and [6] the internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*).

***KhG* {3.5.2}**

*de yang khrims yig drug ni/ khri rtse 'bum gzher gyi khrims/ 'bum gser thog sha ba can gyi khrims/ rgyal khams dper blangs kyi khrims/ mdo lon zhu bcad kyi khrims/ dbang chen bcad kyi spyi khrims/ khab so nang pa'i khrims te drug go/* (*KhG*: 185; 18b, ll. 5-6).

***Jo sras* {3.5.2}**

Concerning the five kinds of laws, [1] the general law dividing the power (*dbang gcad spyi-khrims*) was the official law as ordered by the lord. [2] The law that takes the kingdom as its model was created by investigating the conduct of the four appointed kings. [3] The legal code of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can was based on what was written in the *Bod kyi thang yig chen po*. [4] The legal code of the violent soldiers (Mi-rgod btsan-thabs) was based on the poverty that is hard to overcome (*dbul-po thub-dka'*). [5] The law created at the request of the Mdo-blon (*Mdo-blon zhus bcad*) was made [based] on the '*Dzangs pa 'Phrul lcags*.

### *Jo sras* {3.5.2}

*khrims rnam pa lnga ni/ rje'i bka' khrims ji ltar rtsal*[293] *pa dbang gcad spyi khrims/ bskos pa'i rgyal po bzhi'i spyod lam la ltos bcas pa rgyal khams dpe blangs kyi khrims/ bod kyi thang yig chen po bkod pa la brten nas 'bum gser thang sha ba can gyi khrims/ dbul po thub dka' la brten nas mi rgod btsan thabs kyi khrims/ 'dzangs pa 'phrul lcags la byas pa'i mdo blon zhus bcad dang lnga'o/* (*Jo sras*: 113).

## Analysis {3.5.2}

While *Lde'u*'s catalogue of six legal codes is nothing more than an outline, *KhG* includes here a full catalogue of these laws with considerable detail. This forms a large part of the *SLS in KhG*, and constitutes section {3.6} according to the composite outline of the *Section on Law and State*. The parallel passage above is taken from *KhG*'s outline, found at the beginning of the *SLS* in *KhG*. The parallel passage in *Jo sras*, as mentioned above in the introduction to {3.4}, is announced in the composite outline as a separate measure outside of the thirty-six institutions, and is in fact a catalogue of five legal codes.

Considering the three passages side by side, three legal codes overlap in all three sources. These are the law of 'Bum-gser thog Sha-ba can/ 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can, the law that takes the kingdom as its model and the law created at the request of the Mdo-blon. In addition, the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher and the internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*)/ law [created] at the revenue collectors' insistence (*khab-so nan khrims*) are found in both *KhG* and *Lde'u*. Both

[293] Read *stsal*.

*KhG* and *Jo sras* also name the general law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*)/ general law dividing the power (*dbang gcad spyi-khrims*). In this manner, all of the legal codes in *KhG* are verified with recourse to *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*. *Lde'u*, on the other hand, contains the proclaimed royal law, which is not found in the other two sources. Likewise, *Jo sras*' enigmatic law of the violent soldiers (*mi-rgod btsan-thabs*) is found in neither *KhG* nor *Lde'u*. The catalogue in *KhG* is the most reliable, and the catalogues of the six legal codes are analysed at {3.6} according to their order of appearance in *KhG*.

One place where *Lde'u* differs slightly from the other two catalogues is in its naming of the law of the Mdo-lon deciding a petition (*mdo-lon zhu bcad kyi khrims*) where *KhG* and *Lde'u* name the law created at the request of the Mdo-blon (*mdo-blon zhus bcas*). This seems to be an error in *Lde'u*, since the catalogue refers to legal codes, and not to stages in a lawsuit or to specific legal practices. This error stems from *Lde'u*'s inclusion of the law of the Mdo-lon deciding a petition (*mdo-lon zhu bcad kyi khrims*) as the fourth of the five stages in a lawsuit (*zhal-lce*) in its catalogue of the five *na* in the double cycle of ten catalogues at {3.3.6b}.

While *Jo sras*' catalogues names only five laws, it includes valuable information about the creation of these laws. It reveals that the general law dividing the power (*dbang gcad spyi-khrims*), which may in fact be a contraction of *KhG*'s general law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*), was created by the Tibetan emperor. *Jo sras*' clarification of the law that takes the kingdom as its model (*rgyal-khams dpe blangs kyi khrims*) is also valuable. It states that this law was created by investigating the conduct of the four appointed kings. As noted at {2.3}, the kings of the four directions is a formulaic expression of the known

world. Here it simply indicates that this particular law was created with recourse to the traditions of Tibet's neighbours.

According to *Jo sras*, the legal code of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can was based on the *Bod kyi thang yig chen po*. As noted in the introduction, this may correspond to the *Thang yig chen mo*, one of Tibet's earliest historiographies, dating to the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan (c.798-815).

The fourth legal code named in *Jo sras*, that of the 'violent soldiers' (*mi-rgod btsan-thabs*) obviously has a military character, but its basis—the 'poverty that is hard to overcome' (*dbul po thub dka'*)—is less clear. This may be a corruption in the text. Another possibility is that the *Dbul po thub dka'* is an unattested textual source. Likewise, the *'Dzangs pa 'phrul lcags*—the basis for law created at the request of the Mdo-blon—may also be the title of a text.

## Introduction {3.5.3}

As mentioned in the composite outline, *Lde'u*'s catalogues of the thirty-six institutions differ from those in *KhG*. It is at the present point that they diverge most radically. Here *KhG* names the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) where *Lde'u* names the six institutions. The six 'qualities' are absent in *Lde'u*'s catalogue due to the fact that *Lde'u* included them in the double cycle of ten catalogues as part of the six *na* and six *ne* at {3.3.5}. They were not analysed in that section due to the fact that they are likely an interpolation, and properly appear to belong to the thirty-six institutions. As a result, they will be considered here alongside *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the six institutions. The latter is apparently added by *Lde'u* to make up for the absence of the six 'qualities' in its tradition of the thirty-six institutions. Here *Lde'u* in fact provides a

catalogue of administrative chiefs, which is found in *KhG* as one of the first catalogues in the *SLS*. *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the six institutions will be considered here along with *KhG*'s catalogue of the six 'qualities', and both will be compared with their corresponding catalogues.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.3a}: the Six 'Institutions'

### *Lde'u* {3.5.3a}

Concerning the six institutions/ administrations (*khod*), they are: one: the administration of Tibet; two: the administration of Zhang-zhung; three: the administration of Mon; four: the administration of the horse chief (*chibs-dpon*); [five missing]; and six: the administration of Mthong-khyab.

### *Lde'u* {3.5.3a}

*khod drug la bod kyi khod dang gcig zhang zhung gi khod dang gnyis/ mon gyi khod dang gsum/ chibs dpon gyi khod dang bzhi/*[294] *mthong khyab kyi khod dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 270).

### *KhG* {3.5.3a}

First, the king issued orders to his respective ministers according to [the law of] Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher's explanation of politics (*srid*) and administration (*khos*). The administrative chief (*khos-dpon*) of Tibet was Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-bzung. The administrative chief of Zhang-zhung was Khyung-po Pun Zung-tse. The

[294] The editor writes, 'fifth missing' (*lnga pa chad*).

administrative chief of Sum-pa was Hor bya Zhu Ring-po. The administrative chief of Chibs was Dbas Btsan-bzang Dpal-legs. The administrative chief of Mthong-khyab was Cog-ro Rgyal-mtshan G.yang-gong. [The king] appointed them and transferred them to Skyi-shod Sho-ma-ra, Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar, Nam-ra Zha-don, Gram-pa-tshal and Ri-bo G.ya'-dmar [respectively].

**_KhG_ {3.5.3a}**

*dang po khri rtse 'bum bzher nas srid pa dang khos ston pa las rgyal pos blon po rnams so sor bkas bsgos te bod kyi khos dpon mgar stong btsan yul bzung / zhang zhung gi khos dpon khyung po pun zung tse/ sum pa'i khos dpon hor bya zhu ring po/ chibs kyi khod dpon dbas btsan bzang dpal legs/ mthong khyab kyi khod dpon cog ro rgyal mtshan g.yang gong rnams bskos/ skyi shod sho ma ra/ khyung lung rngul mkhar/ nam ra zha don gram pa tshal/ ri bo g.ya dmar rnams su bcas skad/* (*KhG*: 185; 18b, l. 6-19a, l. 1).

## Analysis {3.5.3a}

It is evident from even a cursory comparison of these two catalogues that *KhG* had access to a more detailed source, or, alternatively, that *Lde'u* had access to a similar source, but failed to record the passage in its entirety. *KhG*'s catalogue therefore forms the basis of the following analysis.

URAY (1972a: 32-45) devoted a large part of his article on the *Section on Law and State* in *KhG* to a detailed treatment of this passage. Based on the catalogue's inclusion of Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-bzung and Khyung-po Pun Zung-tse—an obvious error for Khung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse—URAY (1972a: 41) dates the institution of these administrative chiefs to either the mid 630s or to between 644 and 649, seeming

to prefer the former as the more likely date. This makes the catalogue of administrative chiefs the oldest datable catalogue in the *SLS*.

One interesting feature of the catalogue is that it is explicitly linked with the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, and, specifically, its explanation of politics (*srid*) and administration (*khos*). In *KhG*, this catalogue immediately precedes the enumeration of the six institutions. As a result, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 103) and DUNG-DKAR (2002: 403) mistakenly believed that the entirety of the six institutions were a subordinate part of the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher. In *KhG*, as seen immediately above, the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher is one of the six legal codes, which form the sixth group of six in the thirty-six institutions. *KhG* in fact catalogues the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher: it is a catalogue of the nine great ministers and their duties. This is translated and analysed in the context of its parallel passage in *Lde'u*'s double cycle of ten catalogues at {3.3.2b}, and its connection with politics and administration is notable.

Regarding the contents of the catalogues, the two most obvious and striking features, as noted by Uray, are the inclusion of Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-bzung and Kyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse. Mgar is the most famous prime minister in the history of the Tibetan Empire, and, as noted in the introduction, was responsible for the codification of Tibet's laws and administration in the mid 650s. Zu-tse is also justly famous as one of the prime movers in the growth of the early Tibetan Empire and its westward expansion. Originally from Zhang-zhung, he is credited with the conquest of Gtsang-Bod, which partially corresponds to Upper Gtsang. According to the *Chronicle Fragments*, IOL Tib J 1284, Zu-tse also hailed from Zhang-zhung, which aided his conquest of Northern Zhang-zhung:

> [Zu-tse] defeated Bor-yon-tse, lord of To-yo Chas-la. He offered To-yo Chas-la and other [areas]—all of Northern Zhang-zhung—to the hands of Khri Srong-rtsan. Zu-tse was loyal. (*to yo chas la'I rjo bo bor yon tse brlag ste / / to*

*yo chas la lastsogs te byang gi zhang zhung thams cad / khrI srong rtsan gyi phyag du phul te / / zu tse glo ba nye'o /*) (IOL Tib J 1284, *recto*, ll. 3-4).

Zu-tse's assignment as the administrative chief of Zhang-zhung would have occured after this initial defection, and before his fall from grace, most likely, as URAY (1972a: 41) surmises, in the mid 630s.

Looking beyond these two figures to the rest of the catalogue, Mgar's location as the administrative chief of Tibet was Skyi-shod Sho-ma-ra, which HAZOD (*forthcoming*) locates just northwest of the confluence of the Skyid-chu and the Reting River. The location of Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar, where Zu-tse was stationed in Zhang-zhung, is well-known. Before moving on to the rest of the catalogue, it will be useful to present it in a table.

Table 104: The Administrative Chiefs (*khos-dpon*/ *khod-dpon*).

| | **Administrative Chief (*khos-dpon*)** | **Territory** | **Capital/ Location of Post** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-bzung | Tibet | Skyi-shod Sho-ma-ra |
| 2 | Khyung-po Pun Zung-tse | Zhang-zhung | Khyung-lung Rngul-mkhar |
| 3 | Hor Bya-zhu Ring-po | Sum-pa | Nam-ra Zha-don |
| 4 | Dbas Btsan-bzang Dpal-legs | Chibs | Gram-pa tshal |
| 5 | Cog-ro Rgyal-mtshan G.yang-gong | Mthong-khyab | Ri-bo G.ya'-dmar |

My reading of this catalogue diverges from Uray's in my partition of the place names Nam-ra Zha-don and Gram-pa Tshal, although it should be pointed out that URAY (1972a: 45) signalled this possibility at the time. The former, which is where Hor Bya-zhu Ring-po was stationed in Sum-pa, may correspond to Nam-ra Chag-gong/ Nam-ra tsha-dgong, one of the eighteen shares of power, which are catalogued at {3.7.5}. DUNG-DKAR (2002: 1207) further separates Nam-ra and Chag-gong into two separate place names, the former being a valley in 'Phan-yul and the latter being a

valley in 'Dam-gzhung or Nag-chu located on the other side of the Nag-chu River if one is travelling towards Mdo-smad. This latter location places it not far off from Nags-shod, which according to the catalogues of thousand-districts at {3.3.1b}, was the centre of Sum-pa's Horn.

The fourth of the administrative chiefs is particularly interesting, as it indicates that Chibs is a place name and cannot be taken to mean 'administrative chief of his majesty's horses', as claimed by URAY (1972a: 33). Further, the administrative chief of Chibs, Dbas Btsan-bzang Dpal-legs, was stationed at Gram-pa Tshal, and this gives us the general location of Chibs, as Gram-pa corresponds to the Gram valley above Sa-skya. The post of *chibs-pon* also appears in the *Old Tibetan Annals*' entry for 717, and Chibs appears as a place name in the entry for 720 (*DTH*: 21, 22, 44, 45). Chibs also appears as a place name in the funerary narrative (*zas-gtad*) at the end of the *Dba' bzhed* (WANGDU AND DIEMBERGER 2000: 94). In this connection, it is worthy of note that Chibs is a place from which swift horses are summoned. One possibility is that this region came to be called Chibs (horse) as a result of its excellent horses. The reverse, that the honorific term for horse derived from this toponym, is also possible.

The last administrative chief and the location of his post are both unidentified. Mthong-khyab, however, appears to refer to a people who lived on Tibet's fluctuating border with China, and who formed the vanguard of Tibet's military forces in the northeast (RONG 1990-91: 256).

*Lde'u*'s only addition to *KhG*'s catalogue is its inclusion of Mon, which generally indicates peoples to the south.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.3b}: the Six 'Qualities' (*rkyen*)

***Lde'u* {3.5.3b}**

As for the manner in which the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) were established, [1] religion (*chos*) and insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) were established as the 'qualities' of the nobility and ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-blon*). [2] *Thags* and Bon were established as the 'qualities' of the lower classes and servants. [3] The texts (*yig-tshang*) were established as the 'qualities' of the wise. [4] The *stag kya* was established as the 'quality' of the wicked (*ngan-pa*). [5] The central Asian tiger (*gung*) and the tiger were established as the 'qualities' of the heroes. [6] The fox hat (*wa-zhu*) was established as the 'quality' of the cowards.

***Lde'u* {3.5.3b}**

*rkyen drug bskos lugs ni/ ya rabs zhang blon gyi rkyen du chos dang yig tshang bskos/ ma rabs g.yung po'i rkyen du thags dang bon bskos/ mdzangs pa'i rkyen du yig tshang bskos/ ngan pa'i rkyen du stag kya bskos/ dpa' ba'i rkyen du gung dang stag bskos/ brdar*[295] *ma'i rkyen du wa zhu bskos/* (*Lde'u*: 267).

***KhG* {3.5.3b}**

Concerning the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*), [1] the 'qualities' of the hero are the central Asian tiger (*gung*) and tiger. [2] The 'quality' of the coward is a fox hat. [3] The 'quality' of the noble (*ya-rabs*) is the divine religion [Buddhism] (*lha-chos*). [4] The 'qualities' of the tame [servant] (*g.yung*) are *thags* and Bon. [5] The 'quality' of the wise is a text. [6] The 'quality' of the wicked (*ngan-pa*) is a thief.

***KhG* {3.5.3b}**

[295] The editor corrects this to *sdar*.

*rkyen drug ni dpa' ba'i rkyen du gung dang stag sdar ma'i rkyen du wa zhu ya rabs kyi rkyen du lha chos/ g.yung po'i rkyen du thags dang bon/ mdzangs pa'i rkyen du yig tshangs/ ngan pa'i rkyen du rkun ma'o/* (*KhG*: 190; 21b, l. 2).

***Jo sras* {3.5.3b}**

Concerning the six 'qualities' of the superior (*bla'i rkyen*), [1] religion (*chos*) and insignia were established as the 'quality' of the nobility and ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-blon*). [2] The saying of oaths and invocations (*bro bon zer*) and *thags* were established as the 'qualities' of the lower classes. [3] The texts [were established] as the 'qualities' of the wise. [4] The tiger seal (*stag-rgya*) [was established] as the 'quality' of the wicked (*ngan-pa*). [5] The Central Asian tiger and the tiger [were established] as the 'qualities' of the brave. [6] The fox tassel hat (*lba dom*) was established as the 'quality' of the cowardly.

***Jo sras* {3.5.3b}**

*bla'i rkyen drug ni/ ya rabs dang zhang blon gyi rkyen du chos dang yig tshang bskos ma rabs g.yung po'i rkyen du bro bon zer dang thags bskos/ 'dzangs pa'i rkyen du yig tshangs dan*[296] *pa'i rkyen du stag rgya/ dpa' bo'i rkyen du gung stag sdar ma'i rkyen du lba dom bskos so/* (*Jo sras*: 114).

## Analysis {3.5.3b}

*Lde'u* and *Jo sras* follow the same order in their catalogues, while *KhG* follows a different order. In all three catalogues, however, the six 'qualities' each

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[296] Read *ngan*.

come in pairs: upper and lower classes, the wise and the wicked, the heroic and the cowardly.

Table 105: The Six 'Qualities' (*rkyen*).

| **Class** | ***Lde'u*** | ***Jo sras*** | ***KhG*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nobility and ministerial aristocracy | Religion (*chos*) and insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) | Religion (*chos*) and insignia of rank (*yig-tshang*) | The divine religion [Buddhism] (*lha-chos*) (3) |
| Lower classes and servants (*Lde'u* and *Jo sras*)/ the tame (*g.yung*) (*KhG*) | *Thags* and Bon | The saying of oaths and invocations (*bro bon zer*), and *thags* | *Thags* and Bon (4) |
| The wise | Texts (*yig-tshang*) | Texts (*yig-tshang*) | Texts (*yig-tshang*) (5) |
| The wicked | Tiger seal | Tiger seal | Thief (6) |
| Heroes | Central Asian tiger (*gung*) and tiger | Central Asian tiger (*gung*) and tiger | Central Asian tiger (*gung*) and tiger (1) |
| Cowards | Fox hat (*wa-zhu*) | Fox tassel (*lba dom*) | Fox hat (*wa-zhu*) (2) |

Examining these pairs individually, the first poses some problems. The 'quality' of the upper classes is the divine religion, along with insignia of rank. The latter have been discussed in some detail, but the former is not as clear. With the introduction of Buddhism, *lha-chos* came to indicate the Dharma, or the Buddhist religion (STEIN 2003 [1985]: 586). It is a rather generic term, however, and may be used to indicate other beliefs as well. Throughout the *Section on Law and State*, however, it appears to always indicate Buddhism. It is juxtaposed with *thags* and *bon*, the 'qualities' of the lower classes. In *Lde'u* and *KhG*, it would seem that *bon* is meant to indicate the Bon religion. The catalogue in *Jo sras*, however, suggests that *bon* is to be read as 'invocation', and pairs it with oaths (*bro*).[297] All three catalogues also list *thags*, meaning 'web', 'rope' or 'cord'. According to the context, this should also indicate some type of ritual practice, but *thags* is not known in this sense. One possibility is that it refers to some type of divination involving cords. It is also

[297] For the meaning of *bon* in this sense, see URAY 1964.

possible, however, that *thags* is meant in the sense of the *rmu* cord, a mystical conduit that connected the Tibetan emperor with heaven. Old Tibetan ritual texts reveal that *bon* ritual specialists performed rites with cords called *dmu-dag*, *lha-dag* and *gsas-dag* (read *thag* for *dag*) (STEIN 2003 [1988]: 597; OROSZ 2003: 21). The *rmu* cord also plays a role in marriage rituals, linking man and woman.[298] This reading of *thags*, however, can only remain speculative for the moment, and the term is therefore left untranslated.

The respective 'qualities' of the wise and the wicked—texts and tiger seals—also pose some problems of interpretation. In the context of the *Section on Law and State*, *yig-tshang* almost always indicates insignia of rank, and indeed that is how it is translated in the context of the 'quality' of the upper classes. It seems odd, however, that the wise should share with the upper classes this same 'quality', and I have therefore rendered *yig-tshang* as 'texts' in the case of the former. As noted at {3.1.7}, there is a tradition according to which nine great men composed 'texts' (*yig-tshang*) relating not only to clan histories, but also to human customs (*mi-chos*) and royal law (*rgyal-khrims*), and these may be indicated here. The tiger seal is somewhat counterintuitive as the 'quality' of the wicked. The term 'tiger' indicates a distinguished soldier, and the marks of distinction are often associated with the tiger.

The final pair is interesting mainly for its linguistic features. As noted already, tigers have a well-established connection with Tibetan soldiers. Furthermore, the fox hat also has a long-standing association with cowardice. The second part of the Old Tibetan legal document PT 1071, and part of its fragmentary copy, PT 1072, deal with cases in which someone falls under a yak and is either rescued or ignored by a bystander. Failing to rescue someone from under a yak is taken as a sign of

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[298] STEIN (1984: 267-68, n. 27) made this observation in his treatment of this catalogue in *KhG*.

cowardice, and the punishment can be severe. Clause 28 concerns the event in which someone with the rank of copper insignia or higher falls under a yak and someone from the rank of *gtsang-chen* down to the lowest commoner rescues him, or fails to do so. The text states that if the bystander in this case fails to rescue the aristocrat, and he is killed by the yak, 'as a penalty for not rescuing him, a fox tassel is attached, and he is put to death'.[299]

Aside from demonstrating the association of cowardice with the fox tassel, this passage also reveals the existence of corporal punishment in Old Tibetan legal codes. It is also interesting to note the orthographic transformation of the tem 'fox tassel'.[300] In PT 1071, it as written *'o-dom* or *wa-dom*. *Jo sras* approximates this with *lba-dom*, a rather archaic use of language that prefigures the term *wa-dom* (URAY 1955: 111-12). Both *Lde'u* and *KhG* gloss this as 'fox hat' (*wa-zhu*). The language in *Jo sras* in this case represents an intermediate stage between Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan.

This catalogue also echoes a passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* relating to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan: 'He joyously gave rewards for the good. As punishments for the wicked he acted pointedly (*dmyigs su phog par mdzad*). He created the insignia (*ri-mo*) for the wise and the heroes' (*supra*, *SLS* introduction).

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299 The passage reads as follows: *zangs gyI yI ge pa / yan chad / khong ta ngo bo dang / khong ta dang stong mnyam ba zhig g.yag gi 'og du chud pa la / gtsang cen ma chad dmangs tha ma yan chad / gyis ma phyung ste / g.yag gis / bkum na ma phyung pa'i chad par sdar ma wa dom btags te dkum du baso* (PT 1072, ll. 89-91).

300 On this term, see COBLIN 1994.

## Introduction {3.5.4}

The corresponding catalogue in *KhG* has already been analysed in the context of the double cycle of ten catalogues at {3.3.5} in comparison with *Lde'u*'s six great, middle and small insignia, and will not be revisited here except to mention that it is one of the six institutions in *KhG*.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.4}: the Six Insignia of Rank

***Lde'u* {3.5.4}**

As for the six insignia of rank, they are: gold and turquoise, *'phra* and *men,* and copper and iron insignia.

***Lde'u* {3.5.4}**

*yig tshang drug la/ gser g.yu gnyis/ 'phra men gnyis/ zangs lcags kyi yi ge gnyis te drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 271).

## Analysis {3.5.4}

Comparing the above passage with the information provided on insignia of rank at {3.3.5}, it is evident that *Lde'u* here commits a number of errors. First, turquoise and gold insignia are reversed: the former is the more prestigious. Second, *Lde'u* has erred in taking *phra* and *men* as separate terms, when they in fact indicate only one type of insignia, namely gold-plated silver (*phra-men*). As a result, the present catalogue omits silver insignia entirely. The final two, copper and iron,

correspond to the seventh and eighth spots in *Lde'u*'s catalogue of insignia at {3.3.5}. Above these, in the fifth and sixth spots, are brass and bronze. In short, the present catalogue represents a lapse on the part of *Lde'u*'s compiler(s).

## Introduction {3.5.5}

The fifth group of six in the thirty-six institutions, the six seals, has been analysed in detail by STEIN (1984) with recourse to its Old Tibetan antecedents. The analysis that follows makes liberal use of Stein's work, and adds to it where possible.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.5}: the Six Seals

### *Lde'u* {3.5.5}

As for the six seals, [1] the seal symbolising a royal order (*bka'-rtags kyi phyag-rgya*) is a chest; [2] the seal symbolising the law is a standard (*ru-mtshon*); [3] the seal symbolising a village/ cultivated area (*yul*) is a royal palace (*sku-mkhar*); [4] the seal symbolising religion is a temple; [5] the seal symbolising the heroes is a tiger and leopard; and six: the seal symbolising the wise (*mdzangs*) is a text.

### *Lde'u* {3.5.5}

*phyag rgya drug la/ bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya sgrom bu/ khrims rtags kyi phyag rgya ru mtshon/ yul rtags kyi phyag rgya sku mkhar/ chos rtags kyi phyag rgya lha khang / dpa' rtags kyi phyag rgya stag gzig mdzangs rtags kyi phyag rgya yig tshang dang drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 271).

***KhG* {3.5.5}**

Concerning the six seals, they are divided thus: [1] the seal relating to a royal order is a chest; [2] the seal symbolising the regional military governments (*khrom*)[301] is a standard (*ru-mtshon*); [3] the seal symbolising a village/ cultivated area (*yul*) is a royal palace; [4] the seal symbolising religion is a temple; [5] the seal symbolising the heroes is a tiger skin; [6] the seal symbolising the wise (*mdzangs*) is a text.

***KhG* {3.5.5}**

*phyag rgya drug ni bka' btags kyi phyag rgya sgrom bu khrom rtags kyi phyag rgya ru mtshon yul rtags kyi phyag rgya sku mkhar chos rtags kyi phyag rgya lha khang dpa' rtags kyi phyag rgya stag slag mdzangs rtags kyi phyag rgya yig tshangs su bcad to/* (*KhG*: 191; 21b, ll. 1-2).

## Analysis {3.5.5}

The present catalogue names the seals that are associated with six various parts of Tibetan imperial administration and society. These were presumably affixed to missives issued from these respective groups, thus allowing for quick recognition. The catalogues in *Lde'u* and *KhG* differ at the second of the six seals; while *Lde'u* lists law (*khrims*), *KhG* lists 'regional military government' (*khrom*). This would seem to be a matter of orthography, and it is possible that an error entered *Lde'u*'s text through transcription. The seal associated with this group is in both cases the standard (*ru-*

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[301] On the meaning of *khrom* as 'regional military government', see URAY 1980.

*mtshon*), which is above all a military symbol. *KhG*'s reading of 'regional military government' (*khrom*) is therefore preferable. Given the obscurity of this term, it is not unlikely that Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag understood *khrom* to mean 'trading centre'. Regardless, he managed to retain the most accurate version of this catalogue.

In a study of the use of metaphors in Old Tibetan administration, STEIN (1984) treated *KhG*'s catalogue and examined in some detail its Old Tibetan antecedents. Among these, the most important are the actual seals that are found affixed to Dunhuang documents. Imaeda made a short study of these in his introduction to *CD2* (16-17). According to the writing on the seals, they were referred to either as *phyag-rgya* or *bka'-rtags*. Among the seals described by Imaeda is that of a 'great military government' (*khrom chen-po*), which carries a winged lion, that of the district of the Bde-blon (*bde-blon ris*), which depicts two seated figures, one larger than the other, and that of the pasturelands (*'brog*), which apparently depicts a horse. Further, a seal depicting a bird with spread wings is associated not only with the imperial court (*pho-brang*), but also with the council of the Bde-blon (*bde-blon 'dun-tsha*). In addition, a seal bearing either an elephant or a horse seems to be associated with the border areas (*mtshams*) (*CD2*: 17).[302]

STEIN (1984: 259-60) also translated a passage from the *recto* of IOL Tib J 506 that lists seven types of seals. My own translation differs only slightly.

> [1] The seal of a royal order is the *'phar-ma ku kang*; [2] the summoning seal is the eight-horned stag; [3] the seal symbolising the regional military government is a crouching lion; [4] the seal symbolising the pasturelands is a temple; [5] the seal symbolising religion is a pheasant; [6] the seal symbolising a missive is a man galloping on horseback. Thus there are six. The seal of the divine son, the emperor (*lha-sras mgur gi phyag-rgya*): the [symbol of the] body is Mount Meru; [that of his] visage the sun and moon; [that of his] mind the ocean; [that of his] penis a victory banner; [that of his]

[302] See also the brief study of two seals by CHOS-'PHEL (2002: 23-27).

speech a swastika; and [that of his] merit a great jewel. The seals of the emperor make seven. (*bka'i phyag rgya 'phar ma ku kang // 'gugs pa'i phyag rgya sha ba rwa brgyad pa / khrom rtags kyi phyag rgya seng ge 'gying ba // 'brog rtags kyi phyag rgya lha gang // chos rtags kyi phyag rgya bya shang shang te'u // 'phrin byang rtags kyi phyag rgya myi rta rgyug pa / de ltar drug go// lha sras mgur gi phyag rgya // sku ni ri rab / zhal ni gnyi zla // thugs ni rgya mtsho // rtags ni rgyal mtshan // bka' ni g.yung drung // yon tan rin po che mgur gyi phyag rgya dang bdun no // //*) (IOL Tib J 506 *recto*, ll. 10-14).

Looking over this Old Tibetan catalogue, it is striking that the language employed is precisely that contained in the corresponding catalogue of the *Section on Law and State*: it concerns the 'seals that symbolise' (*rtags kyi phyag-rgya*) the various institutions in the catalogue. The catalogues also ovelap in their mutual inclusion of seals symbolising royal orders, military governments and religion. Further, their structure—six seals symbolising six respective entities—is identical. This is one of the few places where a catalogue in the *SLS* is represented so explicitly in Old Tibetan sources.

The following table follows the order of the catalogue in the *SLS*. The order of IOL Tib J 506's catalogue is adjusted to highlight correspondences, with the original order noted in parentheses.

Table 106: The Six Seals.

| **Type (*SLS*)** | **Seal (*SLS*)** | **Type (IOL Tib J 506)** | **Seal (IOL Tib J 506)** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Royal order | A chest | Royal order | *'phar-ma ku kang* |
| Regional military government | Standard (*ru-mtshon*) | Regional military government (3) | Crouching lion (3) |
| Village/ cultivated area (*yul*) | Royal Palace (*sku-mkhar*) | Summoning seal (2) | Eight-horned stag (2) |
| Religion | Temple | Religion (5) | Pheasant (4) |
| Heroes | Tiger skin (*KhG*/ Tiger and leopard (*Lde'u*) | Pasturelands (4) | Temple (5) |
| Wise | A text | Missive (6) | Man galloping on horseback (6) |

While it is often inadvisable to apply strict rationality too readily to such catalogues, it seems that the scribe of IOL Tib J 506 reversed the seals for pasturelands and religion; the temple should be paired with the latter, and the pheasant with the former. The association of the temple with religion is confirmed, moreover, in the catalogues of both *Lde'u* and *KhG*. Accordingly, this adjustment is made in the above table. STEIN (1984: 259) interprets *'phar-ma ku kang*, the seal of a royal order, as a type of bird. While I can offer no better an interpretation, I will observe that *'phar-ma* can indicate a pair, and that the seal therefore likely depicts a pair of *ku-kang*. Given the bird seals found on official decrees, it is likely that *ku-kang* indicates some type of bird.

The one place where my reading diverges significantly from Stein's is my interpretation of *mgur* as indicating the Tibetan emperor. While Stein was no doubt aware of this connotation, he translates *mgur* according to its denotation, 'neck'. My reading is supported by the use of the term *mgur* in the tradition of the 'thirteen mountain deities associated with the emperor' (*mgur-lha bcu-gsum*), which formalised Tibet's pantheon of mountain deities and their intimate links with the Tibetan emperor.[303]

The catalogue of the emperor's seals is an addition to the six seals, but contains some very interesting information regarding the Tibetan emperor. In particular the association of his body with Mount Meru fits in perfectly with the emperor's function as an *axis mundi* and link between heaven and earth.

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303 NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ (1998 [1956]: 223-24) cites Klong-rdol Bla-ma's claim that the *mgur lha*, thirteen in number, consist of the well-known nine worldly gods (*srid-pa chags-pa'i lha dgu*) and four other mountain deities.

## Introduction {3.5.6}

The sixth and final group of six in the thirty-six institutions, the six emblems of heroism (*dpa'-rtags*), has been analysed by STEIN (1984). Again, the analysis that follows makes use of Stein's work, and adds to it where possible.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.5.6}: the Six Emblems of Heroism

### *Lde'u* {3.5.6}

Concerning the six emblems of heroism *(dpa'-rtags*), they are: [1] upper tiger and [2] lower tiger; [3] large 'pitchfork' (*zar*) and [4] small 'pitchfork'; [5] tiger skins and [6] leopard skins, making six.

### *Lde'u* {3.5.6}

*dpa' rtags drug la stag stod stag smad gnyis/ zar chen zar chung gnyis/ stag slag gzig slag gnyis ge drug go/* (*Lde'u*: 271).

### *KhG* {3.5.6}

Concerning the six emblems of heroism, they are: both the upper and lower tigers, both the large and small 'pitchforks' (*zar*), and the 'neckerchief' (*gong-ras*) and tiger skin, making six.

### *KhG* {3.5.6}

*dpa' mtshan drug ni stag stod stag smad gnyis zar chen zar chung gnyis gong ras stag slag dang drug go/* (*KhG*: 191; 21b, ll. 2-3).

### Analysis {3.5.6}

We have already noted the association of tigers with Tibetan soldiers, and here we see 'upper and lower tigers' as two of the emblems of heroism. It is uncertain what this physically constituted, since the catalogue goes on to list tiger skins, along with leopard skins, as another emblem of heroism. As we have seen at {3.1.7}, tiger's *stog-bu* and tiger's *gong-thong* were also emblems of heroism during the Tibetan Empire, but their respective physical points of reference remain obscure.

The association of tiger and leopard skins with the Tibetan military is evident in descriptions of the Tibetan army in the *Old Tang Annals*. In 773, for example, it states that the Chinese troops, attacking the Tibetans, 'made a secret night foray on the rebel camp, and shot a rebel leopard-skin general in the eye' (BUSHELL 1880: 473). Here it is apparent that the leopard skin marks the general's distinction. A description of fighting in 786 goes into even more detail, and includes a Chinese governor-general's instructions for attacking the Tibetan army: 'Only wait till the front of the army has passed, and you see the five-square banner, and the tiger and leopard robes. This will be the main army; go out and take them by surprise, and you will gain rare fame' (BUSHELL 1880: 492). This is fully in line with my earlier supposition at {3.4.3} that those soldiers described as 'tigers' and 'leopards', who were distinguished with related insignia, represented the 'officer class' of the Tibetan army.

The middle two emblems of heroism, the large and small 'pitchforks', are confirmed in PT 1089, an Old Tibetan document dealing with the order of rank of the Chinese and Tibetan officials of Sha-cu. In a list setting out the order of rank, the text mentions 'the copper *sug-stong* and the tigers [distinguished soldiers] who hold the 'pitchfork"' (*zangs pa sug stong dang stag gI zar can pa*) (PT 1089, l. 15; LALOU 1955: 176, 180). The same phrase, 'tigers who hold the "pitchfork"' (*stagi zar can-pa*), is found again at line 41, and line 42 lists 'tigers with a small "pitchfork"' (*stagi zar cung-pa*). Given this latter functionary, it is likely that the correct reading of 'tigers who hold the "pitchfork"' (*stagi zar can-pa*) is "tigers with a large 'pitchfork'" (*stagi zar cen-pa*) (*supra*, {3.3.4b}. Whether such a correction is justified or not, the mention of soldiers with the small 'pitchfork' suggests immediately the existence of those with a large 'pitchfork', and therefore verifies the large and small 'pitchforks' in the present catalogue.

Despite confirming the existence of large and small *zar* during the period of the Tibetan Empire, the meaning of this term is still uncertain, and 'pitchfork' is a provisional (and probably doubtful) translation. Whatever the precise meaning of *zar*, it is clear that a 'tiger' (decorated soldier) possessing a *zar* would be a highly decorated soldier. This association of tigers with martial valour is also found in China, where tiger military insignia dates back to the Han (202 BCE-220 CE) (DES ROTOURS 1952: 36). The martial use of tiger implements lives on in the wrathful pantheon, and is also found in early iconography along the Silk Road.

The only other problem posed by the catalogue is *KhG*'s inclusion of 'neckerchiefs' (*gong-ras*) where *Lde'u* lists leopard skins. Here 'neckerchief' is a provisional translation based on the fact that *gong-ras* literally means 'high cotton',

and *gong-ba* can indicate 'neck' (JÄSCHKE 1998 [1881]: 72). It may refer to another type of upper garment.

## {3.6} The Six Legal Codes

### Introduction {3.6}

As noted in the analysis of section {3.5.2}, *KhG* regards the six legal codes as the final group of six in its enumeration of the thirty-six institutions. Because its exposition is so lengthy, it is placed here in a separate arrangement of catalogues. Properly speaking, however, these should be considered as part of the thirty-six institutions. The outlines of the six legal codes in the three main sources are discussed in detail at {3.5.2}. The following table shows the correspondences between the three outlines. As *KhG*'s catalogue is far more detailed than those of *Lde'u* and *Jo sras*, it ordering of the catalogues is followed here.

Table 107: Outline of the Six Legal Codes {*SLS* 3.6}.

| | ***KhG*** | ***Lde'u*** | ***Jo sras*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher | Law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher | Law of the violent soldiers (*mi-rgod btsan-thabs kyi khrims*) (4) |
| 2 | Law of 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can | Law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can | Law of 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can (3) |
| 3 | Law that takes the kingdom as its model | Law that takes the kingdom as its model | Law that takes the kingdom as its model (2) |
| 4 | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon | Law created at the request of the Mdo-blon (5) |
| 5 | General law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*) | Proclaimed royal law (6) | General law dividing the power (*dbang gcad spyi-khrims*) (1) |
| 6 | Internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*) | Law [created] at the revenue collectors' insistence (*khab-so nan khrims*) (5) | |

As noted in the introduction, URAY (1972a: 59) believed that the six legal codes found in *KhG*, particularly the sixteen pure codes of human conduct (*mi-chos gtsang-ma*

*bcu-drug*), were inserted into the narrative in the fourteenth century, either under the auspices of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan or Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje, in an effort to legitimate their own legal reforms. Further, URAY (1972a: 67-68) states that due to the fact that these legal codes are later interpolations, they are of little use to the study of law in imperial Tibet. As we shall see, some of these traditions, such as the laws based on the ten virtues, do indeed have a strong claim to imperial antecedent.

### Analysis {3.6.1}: the Law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher

The law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher is catalogued only in *KhG*. It has already been translated and analysed, however, at {3.3.2b} as a parallel passage to *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the nine great ones in the double cycle of ten catalogues. To review, the passage is as follows:

> Further, the three great, middle, and lesser high ministers (*gung-blon)*, the three ministers of the interior, and the three men of the judiciary (*yo-gal 'chos-pa'i mi*) make nine in all, and comprise the nine great ministers. The duty of the high minister is, like a husband, to manage external affairs wholly and completely (*phyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod*). The minister of the interior, like a wise woman, tends to internal affairs (*nang gi chis*). To the good, the judicial official bestows gifts even on an enemy's son provided he has acted well, and to the wicked, he punishes even his own son if is wicked. Those [comprise] the so-called [legal code of] Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, which is the first of the six official legal codes. {*SLS* 3.3.2b}

This law's relationship to the administration of the Tibetan Empire is readily apparent in the above passage. It is a connection that is noted also at {3.5.3a}, where the law seems to inform the tradition of the six administrative chiefs (*khod-dpon/ khos-dpon*).

Considering the title of this law, DUNG-DKAR (2002: 403) states that this name derives from the fact that ten thousand can be substituted for 100,000—a phrase reminiscent of Tibet's defeat of Zhang-zhung, when Tibet's soldiers were supposedly greatly outnumbered. The meaning may imply that when organised correctly, the few can overcome the many, thus underlining the importance of a sound administration.

SØRENSEN AND HAZOD (2005: 229, n. 21) note that *Jo sras* (108), in a passage relating to the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan immediately proceeding the *SLS*, refers to the 'law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-gdugs'. Sørensen and Hazod read this as a corruption of Khri-brtsigs 'Bum-gdugs, a temple attributed to Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan. If they are correct, then this would suggest that the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher is a corruption for the law of Khri-brtsigs 'Bum-gdugs, which would then be assumed to have been authored under Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan at the eponymous temple. *Lde'u* and *KhG* are consistent in presenting a tradition of the law of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher, however, so it is more likely that *Jo sras* merely confused two separate institutions due to the similarity of their names.

## Introduction {3.6.2}

The second of the six of legal codes is referred to in *KhG* as 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can, while *Lde'u* and *Jo sras* both call it 'Bum-gser thang Sha-ba-can. The former title is reminiscent of the dear found on the roofs of monasteries and temples, while the latter, as a plain full of deer, is just as plausible. Brief though it may be, *KhG* is the only one of the three sources that contains any significant information concerning this law, so it will generally be referred to below as 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.6.2}: the Law of 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can

### *KhG* {3.6.2}

The second legal code, known as 'Bum gyi gser-thog Sha-ba-can, standardised to royal order [the weights and measures] *bre, srang, phul, khyor, zho, nam, se, sran* and so forth.

### *KhG* {3.6.2}

*bre srang phul khyor zho nam se sran sogs/ / bka' la btags pa khrims yig gnyis pa ste/ / 'bum gyi gser thog sha ba can zhes grags/* (*KhG*: 191; 21b, ll. 4-5).

## Analysis {3.6.2}

The standardisation of weights and measures is not a trifling matter, but an important element in terms of unity and trade. By standardising weights and measures, the Tibetan emperor also asserted control over his empire in a highly visible and practical manner.[304]

As CHAB-SPEL (1989: 128-29) notes in his treatment of this passage, the introduction of weights and measures such as *bre, srang* and *phul* is attributed to a

[304] A similar dynamic is apparent in China. In the Forbidden City one can find opposite each other and alongside the symbolic turtle and crane a sundial symbolising the Chinese Emperor's rule over time, and a sculpture representing the standard measures used throughout his realm. This of course dates to a later period that the Tibetan traditions under consideration.

minister during the reign of Srong-btsan Sgam-po’s grandfather, Stag-bu Snya-gzigs (*KhG*: 171). This would date their introduction to the mid to late sixth century. Considering the tradition of weights and measures in the present catalogue, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 129-30) notes the following related traditions of weights and measures.

Weights and Measures for Grain:
Tradition One:
1 *phul* = 3.5 *ya-khyor*; 1 *bre* = 21 *ya-khyor* = 6 *phul*; 20 *bre* = 1 *khal*.
Tradition Two:
1 *phul* = 3 *ya-khyor*; 1 *bre* = 21 *ya-khyor* = 7 *phul*; 20 *bre* = 1 *khal*.
Weights and Measures for Meat, Butter and so forth:
20 *se* = 1 *zho*; 10 *zho* = 1 *srang*; 4 *srang* or 4 *spor* = 1 *nyag*; 20 *nyag* = 80 *srang* = 1 *khal*.
Weights and Measures for Silver, Gold and so forth:
7 *sran* = 1 *nam*; 7 *nam* = 1 *zho*; 10 *zho* = 1 *srang*.

## Introduction {3.6.3}

The third of the six of legal codes is the most lengthy and unwieldy, and seems to be a dumping ground for numerous legal miscellanea. Among these laws are the fifteen royal laws (comprised of the three deeds and three non-deeds, three praises and three scorns, and the three non-harmings), the sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct (*mi-chos chen-po gtsang-ma bcu-drug*), the six or seven great laws and the official proclamations *(bka' yi dril-bsgrags*). The first of these corresponds to *Lde'u*’s catalogue of the combined ministerial laws (*blon-khrims snol-ma*), while *KhG*’s six or seven great laws correspond to *Lde'u*’s six proclaimed royal laws (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*). Parts of a chapter in *BK* devoted to the royal laws also overlap with the clauses of the third legal code.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.6.3}: the Law that Takes the Kingdom as its Model

### *KhG* {3.6.3}

The third [legal code], called the law that takes the kingdom as its model (*rgyal-khams dper blangs khrims*), demonstrates suitable and unsuitable behaviour. [The three deeds]: [1] defeat the enemies and make the kingdom peaceful; [2] tend to internal affairs and protect [your] servants; [3] practice the true religion (*dam-chos*) in order to benefit in the next life. [The three non-deeds]: [1] as regards the divine religion (*lha-chos*), the condition of nobility, do not explain it to servants, [who are] unsuitable recipients; [2] cherish in your heart the secret mantra, the cause of perfect enlightenment, and do not sell it for wealth; [3] if you praise the wicked, then you will both come to ruin. Thus do not set up servants as rulers.[305]

[The three praises]: [1] if the heroes are not praised with tigers, then this is not the catalyst for producing bravery;[306] [2] if the wise are not praised with texts, then thenceforth there would be no difference between the wise and the wicked; [3] if one does not praise the good with rewards, then who would behave well thereafter? [The three scorns]: [1] if one does not scorn the cowards with a fox hat, then there would be no difference between cowards and heroes; [2] if one does not suppress the wicked, then their awareness will never strengthen; [3] if one does not punish the guilty, then later there would be uninterrupted crime.

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[305] This clause appears convoluted: the first sentence appears to be part of the three praises, and the relationship between the first sentence and the second is tenuous.

[306] As we have seen already, various kinds of tiger paraphernalia were awarded to soldiers for bravery. The term *ru-ma*, which is a catalyst for growing yoghurt cultures, is used here as a metaphor for the cultivation of bravery.

[The three non-harmings]: [1] if you harm your parents who bore you, then you will suffer retribution in both the present and future; [2] if you harm your own beloved child, then [how can one] differentiate this from the hatred of external enemies? [3] If husband and wife harm [each other], then internal and external affairs and farming will be diminished.

The three deeds and three non-deeds, three praises and three scorns, and the three non-harmings comprise what are known as the fifteen royal laws. Praise the emblems of heroism of the heroes in battle and scorn the coward wearing the fox hat. So it is said.

The sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct (*mi-chos*) and particularly the abandonment of the ten non-virtues comprised the law (*bka'-khrims*).

[The six or seven great laws]: furthermore, [1] the law of not taking life [legislates] compensation for death and compensation for injury. [2] According to the law of not taking that which is not given, if one steals the wealth of the *sangha*, then one must repay one hundred-fold. One repays eighty-fold the wealth of the king, and eight-fold the wealth of a subject. [3] The law of not engaging in erroneous sexual misconduct punishes adultery and punishes rape. [4] [According to] the law of abandoning falsehood, one takes the gods and protectors as witnesses and swears an oath. [5] [According to the law of abstaining from intoxicants], measure your consumption of beer. Adding on top of these five laws that take the five religious vows as their model [6] [the laws according to which] the servants do not revolt and [7] do not dig up the tombs, these comprise what are known as the six or seven great laws.

[The sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct.] Generally, on top of the abandonment of the ten non-virtues, they are: [1] regard one's mother as one's

mother; [12] regard one's father as one's father; [13 and 14] regard ascetics (*dge-sbyong*; Skt: *śramanera*) and *brahmins* as ascetics and *brahmins*; [15] respect the elders of one's lineage and repay their kindness, and [16] abandon treachery towards others. Those are the sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct.

Further, [the official proclamations *(bka' yi dril-bsgrags*)]: [1] take refuge in the three jewels and offer to them with faith and respect; [2] repay the kindness of your mother and father through acting respectfully; [3] do not separate from your benefactor, and repay him with a good reward; [4] do not dispute with superiors, and listen when they speak; [5] follow after the nobility in all actions; [6] fix your mind to religion and texts and understand their meaning; [7] have faith in [the karmic law of] cause and effect and avoid wicked acts; [8] do not think bad thoughts towards others, fix yourself to beneficial action; [9] in whatever you do, take your own mind as your witness and act truthfully; [10] give rise to modesty and restraint in your portions of food and beer; [11] repay on time loans, debts and so forth; [12] abandon fraud regarding weights and measures and so on; [13] abandon meaningless interference in affairs that don't concern you; [14] embrace self-reliance and make your mouth heavy;[307] [15] hold dearly to your vows and oaths as if they were your life. These and so forth are the official proclamations *(bka' yi dril-bsgrags*).

All Tibetan subjects were established in happiness through vows to achieve a blissful and happy status in the next life, and through the treatises on the ways of the excellent nobility.

## ***KhG* {3.6.3}**

[307] The clause seems to promote a course of action that will cause others to lend weight to one's words.

*gsum pa rgyal khams dper blangs khrims zhes pa/ /bya bar 'os dang mi 'os ston pa ste/ /dgra btul rgyal khams bde bar mdzad/ /nang gi tshis mdzad 'bangs 'khor skyong / /phyi mar phan phyir dam chos bya/ /ya rabs rgyu rkyen lha chos ni/ /snod min kheng po la mi bshad/ /gsang sngags rdzogs 'tshang rgya ba'i rgyu/ /nor du mi btsong snying la bcang / /ngan pa bstod na gnyi ga phung / /de bas kheng po rjer mi dbyung / /dpa' la stag gis ma bstod na/ /dpa' ngar byas pa'i ru ma med/ /mdzangs la yig tshangs ma bstod na/ /phyin chad mdzangs ngan shan mi phyed/ /legs la bya dgas ma bstod na/ /slan chad legs pa su yis byed/ /sdar ma wa zhus ma dmad na/ /dpa' dang sdar ma shan mi phyed/ /ngan la nan tur ma byas na/ /nam yang dran shes rem mi 'gyur/ /nyes la chad pa ma bcad na/ /phyi nas nyes byed rgyun mi chad/ /lus skyed pha ma mnar ba na/ /'phral phugs gnyis kar la yogs sdig /rang gi mchan gyi bu mnar na/ /phyi rol dgras kyang zhe kha 'byed/ /bza' grogs mnar na phyi nang gi /tsis dang so nam yal bar 'chor/ /de rnams la mdzad pa gsum mi mdzad pa gsum bstod pa gsum dmad pa gsum mi mnar ba gsum ste rgyal khrims bco lngar grags la g.yul du dpa' ba la dpa' mtshan drug gis bstod sdar ma la wa zhu bkon ste dmad skad/ mi chos chen po gtsang ma bcu drug dang / khyad par mi dge bcu spong bka' khrims mdzad/ de yang srog mi gcod pa'i khrims gshin stong dang gson stong / ma byin par mi len pa'i khrims dkon mchog gi nor brkus na brgya 'jal rgyal po'i nor la brgyad bcu 'jal 'bangs kyi nor la brgya 'jal du bcas/ log par mi g.yem pa'i khrims smad 'jal dang byi chad/ brdzun spong pa'i khrims lha srung dpang du byas nas mna' spob pa/ chang la tshod zin pa ste chos kyi gtan khrims lnga la dpe byas pa lnga'i steng du kheng mi ldog pa dang bang so mi 'dru ba bsnan pas khrims chen drug gam bdun du yang grags shing / spyir mi dge ba bcu spong ba'i steng du ma la mar 'dzin pa pha la phar 'dzin pa dge sbyong dang bram ze la dge sbyong dang bram zer 'dzin pa rigs kyi rgan rabs bkur ba byas pa drin du gzo ba gzhan la ngan g.yo spang ba ste mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug*

*khrims su bcas/ gzhan yang / dkon mchog skyabs bzung dad cing gus pas mchod/ /pha dang ma la drin gzo bkur sti bya/ /drin can yi mi gcad cing bzang lan 'jal/ /mthon po rnams la mi rgol smras na nyan/ /las spyod thams cad ya rabs rjes su 'brang / /chos dang yi ger blo 'jug don shes bya/ /rgyu 'bras yid ches sdig pa'i las la 'dzem/ /gzhan la gsam ngan mi bya phan pa gtags/ /ci byed rang sems dpang bzhag drang por bya/ /zas dang chang la tshod zin khrel 'dzem skyed/ /skyin pa bu lon la sogs dus su gzhal/ /bre dang srang la sogs la g.yo zol spang / /ma bcol las la don med kha gtogs spang / /rang tshugs bzung nas bsgyur kha lci bar bya/ /mna' dang dam bzhag srog ltar bces par 'dzin/ /de la sogs pa bka' yi dril bsgrags te/ /ya rabs bzang po'i lugs kyi bstan bcos dang / /phyi mar phan bde'i go 'phang dam pa la/ /bod 'bangs thams cad bkos ste bde zhing skyid/* (*KhG*: 191-93; 21b, l. 5-22b, l. 2).

### ***Lde'u* {3.6.3}**

Concerning that, as for the six proclaimed royal laws (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*), they are: one: the law of not taking life legislates blood money and compensation money for injury; two: as regards taking that which is not given, one repays one hundred-fold [for stealing from] a king, repays eighty-fold to the church (*dkon-cog*), and repays eight-fold the wealth of an ordinary man; three: Concerning punishment for erroneous sexual misconduct, rape is punished by cutting off the nose and removing the eyes; four: according to the law concerning telling lies, one swears an oath, taking the church, gods, serpent spirits and wrathful spirits (*gnyan-po*) as witnesses; the law of the servants' not revolting and not digging up the tombs makes six. The laws appeared in Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher.

As for the combined ministerial laws (*blon-khrims snol-ma*), they are the three deeds and three non-deeds, three praises and three scorns, and the three harmings not to be entered into, making fifteen.

As for the [three] deeds, they are: [1] defeat the external enemies and make the interior peaceful; [2] tend to internal affairs and come together with your family; and three: practice the sacred religion and become a Buddha.

As for the three non-deeds, they are: [1] do not teach the divine [Buddhist] religion (*lha-chos*), the condition (*rkyen*) of nobility, to servants; [2] as the secret mantra is the cause of Buddhahood, cherish it in your heart and do not sell it for wealth; [3] do not set up a servant as a ruler. As there is no difference between men, if one is unable to praise the son of a servant, send him to the border.[308]

As for the three praises, they are: [1] if the heroes are not praised with tigers, then this is not the way to create bravery; [2] if the wise are not praised with texts, then a wise mind will go to waste; [3] if one does not praise the good with gifts, then this is not a catalyst for good behaviour.

As for the three scorns, they are: [1] if one does not scorn the cowards with a fox hat, then one does not differentiate between cowards and heroes; 2] if one does not suppress the wicked, then one does not differentiate between the wise and the wicked; [3] if one does not punish the guilty, then their bad habits will be reified.

As for the three harmings not to be entered into, they are: [1] if you harm your parents who bore your body and life, then retribution will come, and people will blame you, so do not enter into this harm; [2] if you harm your own beloved lineage (*bu-tsha*), you will become shamed even [in the face of your] enemies, so do not enter

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[308] The translation of this last phrase is uncertain.

into this harm; [3] if you harm your wife, the harvest will be destroyed and you will be impoverished, so do not enter into this harm.

That is the account of the ways in which the royal law was created.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.6.3}**

*de la bka' lung rgyal khrims drug la/ srog mi gcod pa'i khrims stong thang dang gsos thang bcad pa dang gcig ma byin par len pa la rgyal po la brgya 'jal dang dkon cog la brgyad chu 'jal dang / skye bo la brgyad 'jal du bcad pa dang gnyis/ 'dod pas log par spyad 'jal*[309] *pa la/ byi 'jal sna bcad pa dang mig dbyung bar bya ba dang gsum/ rdzun smras kyi dwogs pa'i khrims dkon cog dang lha klu gnyan po dpang du btsugs nas mna' bya ba dang bzhi/ khengs mi ldog pa dang bang so mi 'dru ba'i khrims bcas dang drug go/ khri rtse 'bum bzher na khrims byung ngo /* (*Lde'u*: 270-71).

*blon khrims snol ma ni/ mdzad pa gsum/ mi mdzad pa gsum/ bstod pa gsum/ smad pa gsum/ mnar du mi gzhug pa gsum te bco lnga'o/*

*mdzad pa*[310] *ni phyi'i dgra btul nas nang bde bar mdzad pa dang / nang gi tshis byas nas 'khor 'du bar mdzad pa dang / lha chos byas nas sangs rygas thob par mdzad pa dang gsum mo/*

*mi dzad pa gsum ni/ lha chos ya rabs kyi rkyen kheng po la mi bstan/ gsang sngags sangs rgyas kyi rgyu yin nor du mi btsong snying la bcangs/ kheng po rje ru mi dbyung / mi khyad med par 'gro bas kheng po'i bus bstod mi thub pas so la bzhag go/*

309 The editor inserts *dwogs*.
310 The editor inserts *gsum*.

*bstod pa gsum ni/ dpa' bo la stag gis ma bstod na/ dpa' bo byas pa'i don med/ mdzangs pa la yig tshang gis ma bstod na/ mdzangs pa yi*[311] *zhi 'gro/ legs la bya dgas ma bstod na/ legs pa ched pa'i ru ma med/*

*smad pa gsum la/ sdar ma la wa zhus ma smad na/ dpa' bo dang sdar ma'i shan mi phyed/ ngan pa la nan thur ma byas na mdzangs ngan gyi shan mi phyed/ nyes pa la chad pa ma bcad na lang*[312] *rengs la 'gro/*

*mnar du mi gzhug pa gsum ni /lus srog bskyed pa'i pha ma mnar na/ la yogs 'ong zhing mis 'phya bas mnar du mi gzhug mchan gyi bu tsha mnar na dgra yang khrel nas 'gro bas mnar du mi gzhug zla rogs mnar na so nam chag nas mtha' ma dbul por 'gro bas mnar du mi gzhug go/ de rnams kyi rgyal khrims bcas lugs bstan pa'o/* (*Lde'u*: 275-76).

### *BK* {3.6.3}

The three praises and three scorns, three deeds and three non-deeds.

[The three praises:] one: the praising with [preferential] seating of the learned; two: the praising with tigers of the heroes who defeat the enemies; three: the praising with texts of the wise and mindful.

The three scorns: [1] kill thiefs and [2] banish *gtam-po*; [3] [cut] the noses and [put out] the eyes of rapists and imprison dissolute women.

The three deeds: [1] create the supports of body, speech and mind for the true religion; [2] by law, see to blood money and compensation for injury when a man is killed [or wounded]; [3] repay one hundred-fold for taking what is not given from the

[311] The editor inserts *yid*.
[312] The editor inserts *shor*.

lord, repay eighty-fold for taking what is not given from the church (*dkon-cog*) and repay nine-fold for taking what is not given from an ordinary man.

The three non-deeds: [1] do not eschew the downtrodden; [2] do not call to mind instances of past and future harm;[313] [3] do not send a servant as a soldier—act according to the commands of the woman bondservant.

***BK* {3.6.3}**

*stod gsum smad gsum mdzad gsum mi mdzad gsum: mkhas btsun bzang po gral gyi stod dang gcig: dgra 'dul dpa' bo stag gi stod dang gnyis: byas gzo mdzangs dang yig tshangs stod dang gsum: smad gsum rkun ma gsod dang gtam po spyug: byi chal sna mig 'chol ma bcing dang gsum: mdzad gsum sku gsung thugs rten dam chos mdzad: khrims 'og mi gsad stong dang gsos thang mdzad: rje la ma byin blangs na brgya 'jal dang: dkon cog ma byin blangs na brgyad cu 'jal: skye bor ma byin blangs na dgu 'jal mdzad: mi mdzad gsum la yo log ya mi srong: snga phyi dpe srol gnod pa'i dran mi gsal: khengs rgod mi gtang bran mo bka' bzhin bgyi:* (*BK*: 442-43; CHANDRA 1982: 553; *ca*, 11a, l. 5-11b, l. 1).

## Analysis {3.6.3}

This catalogue, like many others, underlines the composite nature of the *Section on Law and State*. Here one has the impression that the laws catalogued in *KhG* have been added almost at random, and may have little or no connection with the law that takes the kingdom as its model. This is suggested by the fact that while *Lde'u*'s catalogues overlap a good deal with those of *KhG*, they are in fact two

313 The translation of these two phrases, *la yo log ya mi srong / /snga phyi dpe srol gnod pa'i dran mi gsal/*, is uncertain.

separate catalogues found in two different parts of the *SLS* in *Lde'u*. Furthermore, *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the six proclaimed royal laws (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*), which corresponds to *KhG*'s six or seven great laws, explicitly links itself to the legal code of Khri-rtse 'Bum-bzher. Also, the laws that follow in *KhG* as the fourth, fifth and sixth legal codes are not legal codes, but anecdotes whose purpose seems only to fill out the catalogues. It is in this catalogue and those that follow, therefore, where the *Section on Law and State* seems to be at its least reliable, admitting interpolations that likely post-date the imperial period by centuries.

Moving systematically through the legal clauses according to their order of appearance in *KhG*, we begin with the fifteen royal laws, known to *Lde'u* as the combined ministerial laws (*blon-khrims snol-ma*), or the royal laws (*rgyal-khrims*). These are divided into five groups of three, the first of which is the three deeds. *BK* overlaps closely with *Lde'u* in places, but does not include the three non-harmings. The three deeds are rather generic, and the differences between the catalogue in *KhG* and that in *Lde'u* are minor. The only interesting divergence is in the third deed, where *KhG* enjoins the practice of Buddhism for benefit in the next life, while *Lde'u* sees it as a path to Buddhahood. It would be a mistake, however, to read too far into this regarding the doctrinal orientations of the respective authors. Notably, *Lde'u* refers to this as the divine religion (*lha chos*), a term that is found elsewhere in the catalogue, and elsewhere in the Sec*tion on Law and State*. It has been cautiously rendered as 'divine religion', but it is likely that *lha-chos* refers to Buddhism throughout the *SLS*. The three deeds in *BK* do not correspond to those in *Lde'u* and *KhG*, but have parallel passages in other groups of laws contained in the catalogue. Its only new contribution here is the mention of supports for the body, speech and mind

of the Buddhist religion, or, in other words, the creation or commission of images, texts and stupas.

The second group of three, the three non-deeds, contains some interesting information regarding Buddhist practice. The first non-deed enjoins the upper classes not to teach the divine religion, i.e., Buddhism, to the lower classes, as it is the condition (*rkyen*) of nobility. This obviously overlaps with the catalogue of the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) at {3.5.3b}, where the upper classes are indeed characterised by the divine religion. While the second deed suggests widespread practice of Tantric Buddhism, it has already been noted that the clauses contained in the six legal codes may refer to a period centuries after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire, so this cannot be regarded as evidence of Tantric Buddhism as a popular religion in early Tibet. The third non-deed differs in the two catalogues, but neither warrants serious attention. Again, *BK*'s catalogue differs entirely from the other two, but adds little of worth.

The three praises correspond closely in *KhG and Lde'u*, and again they relate to other parts of the *Section on Law and State*. The association of heroes with tigers has been seen numerous times already, as has the association of cowards with the fox hat or fox tassel at {3.5.3b}. The first of the three scorns also associates cowardice with the fox hat, but the catalogue is generic and requires no analysis. These sentiments also echo a passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* relating to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan: 'He joyously gave rewards for the good. As punishments for the wicked he acted pointedly (*dmyigs su phog par mdzad*). He created the insignia (*ri-mo*) for the wise and the heroes' (*supra*, *SLS* introduction). The language employed in *BK* and *Lde'u* in the catalogues of the three praises and three scorns overlaps enough to suggest that they came from a similar source. The language in *BK*,

however, has necessarily been adjusted by U-rgyan Gling-pa, who fashioned it into nine-syllable verse.

The catalogue of the three non-harmings/ three harmings not to be entered into contains the most poetic language out of the five groups of three statutes, but its contents again require no analysis.

*KhG*'s catalogue of the six or seven great laws overlaps with *Lde'u*'s six proclaimed royal laws (*bka'-lung rgyal-khrims*). Considering first the structural difference between the two catalogues, *Lde'u* omits any mention of abstaining from intoxicants. Otherwise, the catalogues are more or less identical.

This group of laws is far more interesting in that it has known Old Tibetan antecedents. The first law deals with compensation for death and compensation for injury. While the former is treated in some detail with recourse to Old Tibetan legal texts at {3.3.2b}, Old Tibetan sources also refer to recompense for injury. The clauses of PT 1071, which mostly concern hunting accidents, generally include two tiers of punishment: one for death, the other for injury. The latter is referred to as *gson-stong*, and the same orthography is preserved in *KhG*. Generally, the amount is half what would be due had the victim died, and in some cases, this money is specifically designated for food and medicine (*rman zan*) (PT 1071, l. 273).

The second of these laws deals with theft, but *KhG* and *Lde'u* do not agree entirely on the amounts due to the victims. *KhG* states that the *sangha* is repaid one hundred-fold, and the ruler eighty-fold, while *Lde'u* states that the reverse is true. Two Old Tibetan legal fragments, PT 1075 and IOL Tib J 753, detail the proper punishment for theft based on the class of the victim and the amount stolen. According to the latter, which was edited and translated by THOMAS (1936), a thief was met with banishment or death depending on the value of his haul. The following

table shows the punishments that apply when thieves are caught trying to take riches from a treasury.

Table 108: Punishment for a Thief Caught in a Treasury According to IOL Tib J 753 (ll. 12-32)

| **Amount (*srang*)** | ***Punishment*** |
|---|---|
| 100 and upwards | Thief and all accomplices are killed |
| 99-80 | Three ringleaders (*rab-mgo* [sic?]) are killed; others are banished to a hinterland (*pho-reng du spyug go*).[314] |
| 79-60 | Two ringleaders (*ra-bgo-pa*) are killed; others are banished to a hinterland. |
| 59-40 | One ringleader is killed; others are banished to a distant place (*shul ring-por spyug go*). |
| 39-20 | Ringleader thief is banished to a distant place; others are banished to a middle road (i.e., an outlying area) (*lam 'bring-por spyug go*). |
| 19-10 | Ringleader thief is banished to a middle road. A *rkud* of two *srang* is levied on the accomplices.[315] |
| 9 and downwards | Whatever thiefs are caught receive a *rkud* of two *srang*. |

*#/// phyag mdzod do 'tshald gyi nang du/ rkun po zhugs pa las / lag tu ma thob par zin pa'i khirms la//// bla'i pyag mdzod do 'tsald gyi nang du / rkun po zhig zhugste / dkor lag du ma tob par zind na dkor srang brgya yan chad gyi khra zhig / mcis pa'i nang du / zhugs te zind na / rkun po mang gtogs nyung gtogs pa / kun dgumo /// srang dgu bchu dgu man chad / brgyad chu mchis pa yan chad // gyi nang du zhugste zind na rkun po du gtogs gyang rung / rab mgo gsum dgumo/// gzhan ni pho reng du phyug go /// srang bdun chu dgu man chad // drug chu yan chad mcis pa zhig gi nang du zhugste / zind na' / rkun po du gthogs gyan[316] rung/ ra bgo pa gnyis dgumo // gzhan ni pho reng du spyugo /// srang lnga bchu dgu man chad / bzhi bchu mchis pa yan chad chig yi nang du zhugs te // lag du ma thob par zind na / rkun po du gtogs gyang rung ra bgo pa gchig dgumo /// gzhan ni shul ring por spyug go/ srang sum chu dgu man chad // nyi shu yan chad mchis pa'i nang du // zhugste / zind na / rkun po ra bgo pa gchig shul ring por spyugo// gzhan du mchis pa lam 'bring por spyug go // srang bchu dgu man chad / bchu yan chad mchis pa'i nang du zhugs te lag du ma thob par zind na / rkun po ra bdo pa gchig ni / lam 'bring por*

314 THOMAS (1936: 283) translated *rab-mgo* (*pa*)/ *ra-bgo* (*pa*) as 'principal heads', a reading supported by GO-SHUL (2001: 388, n. 2). Thomas' translation of *pho-reng du spyug* as 'to be banished, after castration' can probably be disregarded. My provisional translation of *pho-reng* is uncertain, however, as it is based mostly on analogy with the following clauses and taken therefore to refer not to a physical condition, but to a degree of distance. The Classical Tibetan meaning of *pho-reng* is 'bachelor', so an alternate translation, reading *pho-reng du* adverbially, would be 'they banished him alone'.
315 THOMAS (1936: 283) translated *rkud* as 'penalty', which, along with 'fine', seems an acceptable provisional translation.
316 Read *gyang*.

*spyugo// slad na [bos ro] rkun po du mchis pa la / srang nyis gyi rkud da dbabo / srang dgu man/ chad mchis pa'i nang du / zhugs te / lag du ma thob par zind na / rkun po du mchis pa la / srang chig gyi rkud dbab 'o ///* (IOL Tib J 753, ll. 16-30; THOMAS 1936: 278-79).

The text goes on to detail the punishments for those who steal items of wealth from the authority (*bla*) down to the ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-lon*) and commoners (*dmangs*) (ll. 33-42), punishments for those who steal from the authority (*bla*) itself (ll. 57-63) and punishments for those who steal from the wealth of an empress, royal lady, princess (*btsan-mo lcam-sru dang jo-mo*), or ministerial aristocrat, down to that of a commoner (ll. 64-72). There is no mention, however, of penalties for stealing from the clergy. The inclusion of this cataegory in the catalogue in the *SLS*, if it is indeed authentic, likely pertains therefore to the late Tibetan Empire.

Regarding the law of not engaging in erroneous sexual misconduct, only *Lde'u* states that rapists and adulterers face the corporal punishment of having their noses cut off or their eyes gouged out. While there is a good deal of anecdotal evidence associating the former penalty with sexual misconduct, it is so far unattested in Old Tibetan documents. A wooden slip from Mazar Tagh, however, reveals that there was indeed a law for punishing rape committed by soldiers, and that justice was administrated directly by the general (*dmag-pon*) and the 'inspector' (*spyan*). The slip reads, 'rapist dispatched to the general and inspector to try according to the great law' (*byi ba bgyis pa khrims che la thug pa // dmag pon dang/ spyan gis dbyongs dkyigs [la] gsol cig*) (M.Tagh c. I. 0030; *TLTD2*: 455).[317]

There is no known Old Tibetan antecedent for the law of abandoning falsehood, but, as noted already, oath-taking played an important role in the

[317] In his own treatment of this catalogue, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 139-40) cites this Old Tibetan fragment. He reads *gsol* as *gsod*, however, and thus interprets this slip as sending the rapist to his death.

administration of the Tibetan Empire, and many of the personal names of Tibetan ministers that are known to us have only been preserved as participants in an oath. Neither is there any known reference in Old Tibetan sources to moderation in drinking.

The final two laws in the group belie its claim to antiquity. These laws against revolt or digging up the royal tombs obviously could not have predated the Revolt (*kheng-log*), which likely began in c.905.

The sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct, found only in *KhG*, include only six codes, which are to be added to the abandonment of the ten non-virtues. URAY (1972a: 59) argues that these are a later interpolation and properly relate to a fourteenth century legal code, either of Tshal or Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan. URAY (1972a: 59) notes, however, that the laws of the ten virtues, which form the bulk of the sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct, are mentioned in Bsod-nam Rtse-mo's *Chos la 'jug pa'i mgo*, composed in 1167. Further, this tradition is found in Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer's late twelfth century *Chos byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*. The latter attributes these laws directly to Srong-btsan Sgam-po.

> 'I am a *dharmarāja*, and if my retinue and subjects have no religious laws, they will engage in the behaviour of the ten non-virtues, fall into the three lower realms and be born in a place where they cannot be freed from suffering. Now, if my subjects quarrel and this results in killing, this requires compensation. Do not steal from one another! If you take that which is not given, then you must repay seven-fold—eight-fold counting the [stolen] object itself. [As for] erroneous sexual misconduct, if you rape another's wife, you must pay compensation for adultery. Do not speak falsehoods! Entrusting all the gods, serpent spirits and spirits (*gnyan*) [as witnesses], you must swear an oath.'[318] He created these and so forth as the ten moral laws. (*nga ni chos kyi*

[318] This actually reads 'renege on an oath' (*bro 'dor*). Unless this is an implied warning of the retribution one will face at the hands of the gods and demons who witnessed the oath, it likely corresponds to the parallel passage in *KhG*, with the intended meaning of swearing an oath. In this case, 'renege on an oath' (*bro 'dor*) may be an error for 'swear an oath' (*bro bor*).

*rgyal po yin pas/ nga'i bka' 'khor du rtogs pa bod spyi 'thun la chos khrims med/ las mi dge ba bcu spyad pas/ ngan song gsum du song nas sdug bsngal las thar pa med pa'i gnas su skye ba yin/ da nga yi mnga' ris su rtogs pas 'thab mo byas nas srog bcad nas bsad na stong 'dod do/ phan tshun ma rku 1/ ma byin par blangs na / bdun 'jal ngo dang brgyad 'dod do/ 'dod log gzhan gyi chung ma la byi byas na smad 'chal*[319] *'dodo brdzun du ma smra 1/ lha klu gnyan dgu la yang bcol nas bro 'dor du 'jug go/ bya ba la sogs pa'i dge ba bcu'i khrims bcas nas/*) (*Nyang*: 175; MEISEZAHL 1985: 125.3.2-126.2.2; fol. 186a, l. 2-186b, l. 2).

The catalogue ends at the fourth spot, and corresponds with the first four of the 'six or seven great laws'. The latter, however, follow the five precepts, so the fifth concerns abstinence from intoxicants. The ten non-virtues diverge at this point, however, and name slander (*phra-ma*) as the fifth. In full, the ten non-virtues are: 1) killing (*srog-gcod*), 2) taking what is not given (*ma byin len*), 3) impure sexual conduct (*mi gtsang spyod*), 4) speaking falsehood (*rdzun smra-ba*), 5) slander (*phra-ma*), 6) harsh words (*tshig rtsub*), 7) idle chatter (*ngag 'chal*), 8) envy (*brnab sems*), 9) malice (*gnod sems*) and 10) wrong views (*log lta*).

To these, *KhG*'s catalogue adds six codes, the first four of which are remarkable for their almost Confucian formulations, such as 'regard one's mother as one's mother' and 'regard one's father as one's father'. The mention of *brahmins* in the catalogue is also somewhat peculiar.

The link between the ten virtues and imperial Tibetan law is even older than the Sa-skya period, as it is found explicitly in Dpal-dbyangs' letter to the Tibetan ruler, *Gces pa bsdus pa'I 'phrin yig btsun pa chen po dpal dbyangs kyis bod rje 'bangs la brdzangs pa*, preserved in the *Bstan 'gyur* (Derge no. 5842; Peking no. 4355). TUCCI (1958: 141-42) already signalled its importance to early royal law, and Yamaguchi and STEIN (1986: 185) argue that this letter lies at the root of the sixteen

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[319] Read *'jal*.

great and pure codes of human conduct. There are many outstanding questions concerning Dpal-dbyangs and his dates, and indeed the matter of two separate people called Dpal-dbyangs. It is most likely that the earlier Dpal-dbyangs, of the Sba clan, was one of the first ordained Tibetans, and was active in the latter half of the eighth century. The later Dpal-dbyangs, of the Gnyan clan, was active in the mid-ninth century, and was also a key figure in the earlier transmission of Buddhism to Tibet.[320] It is he, Gnyan Dpal-dbyangs, who authored the *Gces pa bsdus pa'I 'phrin yig*. If we assume that those documents in the *Bstan `gyur* attributed to Dpal-dbyangs are for the most part authentic, then it is most likely that the tradition of the sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct indeed goes back to the ninth century and is not, as Uray surmised, merely a late fabrication. It is clear, however, that later authors emphasised the Buddhist aspects of these 'laws' in Dpal-dbyangs' letter, which, Yamaguchi and STEIN (1986: 185) agree, 'didn't have anything particularly Buddhist about them'.

A Dunhuang fragment, the famous 'Dharma that came down from heaven' (IOL Tib J 370(5)), mentions not only the ten virtues, but proper conduct in relation to one's teachers, parents and elders.

> Rather than shunning divine religion and the religion of men, they held to them closely and respectfully. They were unerring in their gentle and respectful behaviour towards teachers, parents, clansmen, affinal relatives, elders and superiors. Because they had a loving attitude towards all people, they did not steal or rob from others, avoided lying and shameful sexual misconduct, were truthful, steadfast, valourous and extremely courageous…
>
> Where else but Tibet was there such adherence to the excellent true path, the virtuous dharma, the ten virtues of discipline, the royal laws of the

[320] According to Ueyama, he was active in the first half of the ninth century (cited in MEINERT *forthcoming*). KARMAY (1988: 69), however, sees Gnyan Dpal-dbyangs as a Mahāyoga exponent and a teacher of the famous Gnubs Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes, and places him in the late ninth century.

king, protector of men and the oral traditions and treatises of the wise ancestors?

*lha chos myi chos 'dzem bas na / / bkur zhing gzung su cher bzung nas / / slobs pon pha ma phu nu gnyen / / rgan zhing gong ma mtho ba la / / 'jam des sri zhu tshul myi nor / / kun la nga' byams pa'i sems yod pas / / gzhan la rku 'phrog myi byed te / / brdzun dang 'phyon ma ngo tsha 'dzem / / ba / drang brtan dpa' rtul chu gang che/ (ll. 9-12) / bden ba'i lam mchog dge ba'i chos / / 'dul ba'i dge bcu srung ba dang / / myi mgon rgyal po'i rgyal khrims dang / / pha myes 'dzangs pa'i stan ngag gzhung / / bod kyi lugs ltar ga la byed* / (IOL Tib J 370(5): ll 14-16).[321]

This document dates to the late eighth or very early ninth century. While it does not describe in detail any codified laws based on the ten virtues, it is very much in the spirit of the *SLS* in that it promotes the practice of these and other virtues within the context of a harmonious kingdom.

Later, a tradition developed according to which not only Tibet, but also China and India had their own respective groups of sixteen codes of human behaviour. Such a catalogue of these three sets of sixteen codes is found in the *Mdo sde me tog gsil ma* (183b-184b), a 13th or 14th century collection of Bka'-dams-pa literature, but does not seem to have been widespread.[322]

The last catalogue within the law that takes the realm as its model in *KhG*, the fifteen official proclamations *(bka' yi dril-bsgrags*), is self-explanatory, and its contents require no analysis. A similar set of fifteen statutes is found in *GLR* (75), however, but this catalogue states that it is a partial list of the twenty laws of Tibet that take the ten virtues as its model. It is similar in this respect to the sixteen great and pure codes of human conduct, as the first ten of those codes consist of the abandonment of the ten non-virtues. Sørensen, in fact, makes this explicit connection,

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[321] Cf. RICHARDSON 1998 [1977]: 75-76; STEIN 1986: 173-79, 184; and KAPSTEIN 2006: 60-61.
[322] I am grateful to Dr. Ulrike Roesler for bringing this work to my attention.

and interprets these fifteen statutes as the sixteen pure codes of human conduct (*mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug*) (*TBH*: 183).

## Introduction {3.6.4}

The final three laws in the catalogue differ markedly from the first three. Rather than providing lists of legal statutes or guidelines for behaviour, they contain anecdotes that supposedly inform the creation of the legal codes. This being the case, they cannot properly be regarded as catalogues preserving the six legal codes. In fact, in his analysis of the *Section on Law and State*, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 143-44) simply ignores these anecdotes, and instead offers brief hypotheses on what the actual codes might have contained had they been catalogued.

The fourth legal code is the law created at the request of the 'pacification minister' (Mdo-blon). The anecdote that follows commends legal protection for the weak.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.6.4}: the Law Created at the Request of the Mdo-blon

### *KhG* {3.6.4}

Concerning the third [sic!] [fourth] legal code, it is the law of truth and falsehood.  Do not favour, even a little, the haughty. Both should be held responsible

as in the case of Daṇḍin (Dbyug-pa-can), and decide in two ways according to each of their truths. If a haughty person and a weak person dispute, then after deciding the right and wrong [of the case], do not favour the haughty person, and decide on the weak person's explanation. [This is the fourth legal code, called] the legal code created at the request of the Mdo-lon.

***KhG* {3.6.4}**

*khrims yig gsum ni bden brdzun zhal lce ste/ /kha drag rnams la ma skyengs tsam du bcad/ /gnyi gas lan la dbyug pa can bzhin dang / /gnyis ga bden la rigs gnyis pa ltar bcad/ kha drag zhan gnyis rtsod na bden rdzun brtags pa'i mthar kha drag pa ma skyengs shing zhan pa yi mi 'chad par gcod pa mdo lon zhu chad kyi khrims yig* (*KhG*: 193; 22b, ll. 2-3).

## Analysis {3.6.4}

According to Dung-dkar, this anecdote stems from a Jātaka tale in which the *brahmin* Daṇḍin is taken before the king nine times by nine different complainants for nine separate blunders. In each case, the king metes out punishment to both parties, and the tale forms a proverbial explanation of a legal code:

> As for him, [he is the central character in] tales set in India before the time before the Buddha, when the *brahmin* Daṇḍin committed nine great blunders in a single day. Nine different property owners seized him [in their turn] and brought him before the king, requesting that he apply the law to him. At that time king received the requests of both the complainant and Daṇḍin, the one who caused the problem, and applied the law. As it seemed that the [respective] owners [and Daṇḍin] both were guilty, Daṇḍin was to have his tongue cut off as legal punishment, and the owners each had to bear their own respective legal punishments, on account of which the respective property

> owners realised their own faults. Concerning this, Daṇḍin and all others who came, guiltless and carefree, requesting decisions, obtained the good achievement of the legal system. This is elucidated in the *Mdzad brgya dpag bsam 'khri shing*.[323] (*'di ni sngar rgya gar du sangs rgyas ma byon gong gi gnas tshul zhig ste bram ze dbyug pa can la nyin gcig gi nang las 'dzol chen po dgu byung ba dang / do bdag khag dgus kho bzung nas rgyal po'i mdun du 'khrid de kho la khrims gcod gnang rogs zhus skabs rgyal pos zhu gtugs byed mkhan dang las 'dzol byung mkhan dbyug pa can gnyis kar phan tshun zhu ba blangs rjes khrims thag gcod skabs do bdags phan tshun gnyis kar nyes pa yod pa 'dra bas dbyug pa can la nyes khrims lci ba gcod rgyu dang do bdags so sor yang nyes khrims sna re 'khur dgos par thag gcod par brten do bdag rnams kyis rang rang gis nyes pa ngos blangs thog dbyug pa can dang bcas pa'i mi tshang ma nyes med gu yangs kyi thag gcod yong ba zhus pas khrims lugs la grub 'bras bzang po thob pa red ces pa'i gtam rgyud mdzad brgya dpag bsam 'khri shing nang gsal/*) (DUNG-DKAR 2002: 1543).

The moral to the story is that judges ought to be impartial, and should not be swayed by the status of the complainant and defendant. The Daṇḍin stories that it draws on, however, suggest that it is best to discourage litigation through threats of physical violence.

There is little point speculating here on what an actual catalogue of this legal code might have included.

## Introduction {3.6.5}

As with the previous 'legal code', what follows is not more than an anecdote. It is, in fact, simply a continuation of the last anecdote, and its meaning is similar.

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[323] This is a commentarial work on the 'hundred acts of the Buddha'.

**Translation and Transliteration {3.6.5}: the General Law Created by the Great Governors**

***KhG* {3.6.5}**

As for holding them both responsible, the *brahmin* Daṇḍin borrowed a householder's ox and went to deliver it [back]. He put the ox in the householder's paddock and returned without saying anything. Though the householder saw that the ox had been brought back, he left it without tying it up, and the ox came out of the barn door and went astray. [The householder] petitioned King Me-long-gdong (Sanskrit: Adarśamukha) to try it as a legal case. Since the *brahmin* did not say, 'I left the ox', [the king said] 'cut out his tongue!' Since the householder saw [the ox] but didn't tie it up, [the king said] 'cut off his hand!' So it says. Taking this legal decision as an example, decide the two punishments together. [This is the fifth legal code, called] the general law created by the great governors (*dbang chen bcad kyi spyi-khrims*).

***KhG* {3.6.5}**

*gnyis gas lan pa la bram ze dbyug pa can gyis khyim bdag gi glang g.yar nas gtong du phyin pas glang khyim bdag gi ra bar btang ste ci yang ma smras par log khyim bdag gis glang bskyal byung ba mthong yang ma btags par bzhag pas glang phugs kyi sgo nas thon te stor ba rgyal po me long gdong la zhal lce zhus pas bram zes glang btang yod do zhes ma smras pas lce chod/ khyim bdag gis mthong yang ma btags pas lag pa bregs zhes zhal lce bcad pa la dpe byas nas chad pa gnyis mnyam du gcod pa dbang chen bcad kyi spyi khrims/* (*KhG*: 193; 22b, ll. 3-5).

**Analysis {3.6.5}**

As seen from the quotation from Dung-dkar, neither Daṇḍin nor the householder actually lost tongue or hand; faced with such severe punishments, they recanted, and resolved the matter privately. The source for this story is a Pāli Jātaka tale (no. 257) concerning one of the Buddha's previous lives as King Adāsamukha. Curiously, the protagonist in the Pāli version of this tale is not called Daṇḍin, but Gāmaṇi-caṇḍa (FRANCIS AND THOMAS 1916: 200). The immediate source for the story in the present catalogue, however, is most likely the version of this tale found in the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya (PANGLUNG 1981: 39).

While the principle of this Jātaka tale is that litigation should be discouraged through threats of corporal punishment, the statement in the above clause suggests that it was interpreted as meaning that both complainant and defendant should be punished. This would seem to be a subtle misunderstanding of this Jātaka tale, perhaps read in this way to support such practices as torturing both complainant and defendant, which occurred are found in later Tibetan legal traditions. In a case where testimony was disputed, for example, this was sometimes resolved through torturing both accuser and accused, and with recourse to trials by ordeal (CASSINELLI AND EKVALL 1968: 175-76).

## Introduction {3.6.6}

The last of the six legal codes, the internal law of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims*), also consists of an anecdote that serves as the basis for the legal code. In this case, however, Daṇḍin is not the central character, and the source of the proverb it is uncertain.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.6.6}: the Internal Law of the Revenue Collectors

### *KhG* {3.6.6}

Concerning [a case in which] both are right, there was a son of a householder who fell in the river and was swallowed by a fish as soon as he was born. The servant of another householder, who lived in the village below the hill, caught the fish and butchered it, and the child, not dead, came out. That householder raised him as his son. The first householder heard of this, and they disputed and asked the king to apply the law.

[The king said,] 'You will both raise the child in turn and each [household will] take a girl [as a wife for the boy]. If a child comes [from either of these unions], and either householder says, "take it", then the child's name becomes that of the second [other] lineage. Whatever child that is taken who later becomes a monk, his monastic lineage will be known as the [name of the] second [other] lineage.' Taking that as an example, decide according to both being right and [all] three being happy.

[This is the sixth legal code,] called the internal legal code of the revenue collectors (*khab-so nang-pa'i khrims-yig*). So it is said.

### ***KhG*** **{3.6.6}**

*gnyi ga bden na khyim bdag zhig gi bu skyes ma thag chur lhung ba nya zhig gis mid pa ri'i 'og gi grong na gnas pa'i khyim bdag gzhan zhig gi g.yog gis nya de zin nas bshas pas khye 'u zhig ma shi bar byung ba khyim bdag des bur gsos pa khyim bdag gong mas thos nas rtsod de rgyal po la zhal ce zhus pas gnyi gas khye 'u re mos su gsos la bud med re re long / /bu byung na khyim bdag so sos khyer zhig zhes byung nas khye 'u rigs gnyis par ming chags/ /bu re re so sos khyer phyis rab tu byung bas dge slong rigs gnyis par grags pa de la dpe blangs nas gnyis bden dang dga' gsum du gcod pa khab so nang pa'i khrims yig du grags skad/* (*KhG*: 193-94; 22b, ll. 5-7).

## Analysis {3.6.6}

This is a colourful proverb, but its language is opaque in places. As its source is unknown, however, the precise meaning cannot be easily clarified. If it is read in the spirit of the Daṇḍin tales, then the king's proposals should be so abhorrent to both parties that they withdraw the case and settle the matter privately. Given the obscurity of the king's words, however, this could just as easily be a brilliant solution welcomed by all parties.

Considering this clause's injunction to 'decide according to both being right and [all] three being happy', DUNG-DKAR (2002: 300) glosses these three happinesses as that of each complainant and that of the judge.

In his analysis of the *Section on Law and State*, CHAB-SPEL (1989: 144) passes over the passage entirely, noting only that the *khab-so* were part of the imperial revenue office, and managed the treasury. This is indeed the case, though there seems to be no relation between the internal legal codes of revenue officers and the above proverb.

## {3.7} The Six Institutions

### Introduction {3.7}

The introduction to the composite outline revealed that the catalogues of the six institutions, like those of the thirty-six, are nearly identical in both *Lde'u* and *KhG*. Structurally, the only difference is that the subject workers in *Lde'u* have been replaced by the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister in *KhG*. To review, their correspondences—following the order in *Lde'u*—are as follows.

Table 109: The Six Institutions (*khos drug*).

| | ***Lde'u*** | | ***KhG*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | The boundaries of the four horns and Sum-pa | 1 | The boundaries of the horns |
| 2 | The so-called forty military thousand-districts | 3 | The military thousand-districts |
| 3 | The civilian districts (*g.yung gi mi-sde*) | 4 | The civilian districts |
| 4 | The subject workers | 5 | The three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister |
| 5 | The administrative arrangement of territories (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) | 2 | The eighteen shares of power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*) |
| 6 | The upper, middle, and lower regiments of heroes (*dpa'-sde*) | 6 | The three regiments of heroes |

Much of this material has already been covered in the double cycle of ten catalogues, so there is no need here, for example, to revisit the boundaries of the horns, the catalogues of the thousand-districts, civilian districts or subject workers. Therefore the analysis will focus on the last two institutions, the administrative arrangement of territories/ eighteen shares of power and the three regiments of heroes.

Both *Lde'u* and *KhG* open their catalogue of the six institutions with the same narrative preamble. As noted in the introduction, URAY (1972a: 46-48) analysed the preamble in some detail as it occurs in *KhG*, and concludes that its prototype was composed in c. 715/718. This will be scrutinised in our treatment of the same narrative, which, significantly, is found in *Lde'u* in a slightly different form.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.0}: Narrative Preamble

### *Lde'u* {3.7.0}

Concerning the six institutions, the administration (*khod*) of Tibet was carried out at Kyi Sho-ma-ra. The one who arranged the administration (*khod-shom-mkhan*) was Mgar Stong-btsan. He had six *mdzo*-loads of paper brought, and wrote down what had been previously arranged using pebbles and wooden slips (*shing-bu*), but was frustrated by the inappropriateness of his legal manual (*khrims-byang*). He thought, 'Now who will arrange the administration of Tibet?' He heard that there was a Da-rgyal boy who had great magic power, and four ministers went to search for him.

They met a boy and asked, 'Should we cut across this meadow or go around it?' The boy said, 'If you are in a hurry, go around, if you are not in a hurry, cut across'.  Perceiving that the boy said the opposite of what he meant (*min-log*), they cut across and were stuck in the mud. Then they asked the boy where his parents were, and he said, 'Father has gone to search for words, and mother has gone to search for eyes'. The father appeared bearing beer and the mother appeared bearing [lamp] oil (*mar-nag*).

After that the ministers became happy. Having been entrusted with arranging Tibet's administration, but having not yet arranged it, Minister Mgar, having [also] heard that 'Chims Mang-bzher was wise, went to tend the sheep carrying dried meat dredged in salt.

[Mgar] asked 'Chims, 'They say that Da-rgyal will arrange the administration of Tibet. Will he or will he not arrange it?'

'Chims said, 'I'd just about kill myself—he will not arrange it!'[324]

'Well then, who will arrange it?'

'I have arranged [administrations before], but I will not arrange it.' Thereupon Mgar gave him the dried meat dredged in salt.

He became thirsty and said, 'If someone came bearing beer right now, I'd obey whatever he said'.

With that, Mgar brought him the hidden skin of beer (*chang-rkyal*). He became drunk and [Mgar] asked him about administration. [Mgar] asked him about the division of the forty military thousand-districts, their heads of thousand-districts, the division of the borders of the four horns, the division of the civilian districts, the appointment of their workers and the division of territories into districts of heroes (*dpa'-sde*). ['Chims answered] involuntarily while drunk. That is the explanation of the division of military thousand-districts, their heads of thousand-districts, the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*.

### *Lde'u* {3.7.0}

*khod drug ni/ bod kyi khod kyi shod ma rar byas/ khod shom mkhan mgar stong btsan gyis byas te/ shing bu dang rde'u yan chad rtsis nas/ shog bu mdzo khal*

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[324] The translation of *re rang srog chod rtsam pa des mi shom zer* is uncertain.

*longs pa la bris pas khrims byang ma thebs par 'khrugs te/ da bod kyi khod sus shom mam snyam nas bsam pas/ da rgyal byis pa gcig 'phrul che bar thos nas/ blon po bzhis 'tshol du phyin pas/ byis pa dang 'phrad nas dris pa/ na 'di'i mtha' bskor ram gzhung gcod byas pas/ byis pa na re/ rings na mtha' bskor/ mi rings na gzhung chod zer bas/ byis pa'i min log tu mthong nas/ gzhung bcad pas 'dam du bying ngo / de nas byis pa la pha ma gar song dris pas/ pha gtam 'tshol du song / ma mig 'tshol du song zer ba la/ phas chang khyer byung / mas mar nag khyer byung de nas blon po dga' nas/ bod kyi khod shom du bcug pas ma shom nas/ blon po mgar gyis 'chims mang bzher*[325] *la mdzangs par thos nas lug 'tsho ba'i phyir sha skam tshwas sbangs pa khyer nas dris pa/ bod kyi khod da rgyal gyis shom zer na/ shom mam mi shom byas pas/ 'chims na re rang srog chod rtsam pa des mi shom zer/ 'o na sus shom byas pas ngas shom ste mi shom zer ro/ der mgar gyis sha skam tshwas sbags pa de byin pas/ kho kha skom nas da lta chang ster ba gcig byung na ci zer nyan pas zer ba la/ yang mgar gyis chang rkyal sbas pa de kho la drangs pas/ kho bzi ba la khod dris pas/ rgod kyi stong sde bcu bzhir dbye ba dang / de'i stong dpon dang / ru bzhi'i mtshams dbye ba dang / g.yung gi mi sde phye ba dang / de'i las mkhan bsko ba dang / yul gyi dpa' [sde] bcad pa dris nas kho bzi ba'i bar la bros so/ de la rgod kyi stong sde dbye ba dang / de'i stong dpon ni/ tshan bcu sde bcur bshad do/* (*Lde'u*: 271-72).

### ***KhG* {3.7.0}**

In order to create the administration of Tibet, Mgar obtained pebbles and sticks for the proclamation, and having written six *mdzo*-loads' worth of wooden slips, but not having carved the incisions on the slips, he was frustrated. Hearing that

[325] The editor inserts *ngan*.

there was a boy in 'Phan-yul Dar-rgyal called Mang-po-rje, who had great magic power (*'phrul che*), four ministers went to search for him.

They met the boy at the edge of a great verdant grassland (*ne-gsing chen-po*). They asked him, ‘Should we cut across the meadow or go around the edges?’ [The boy] said, ‘If you have leisure, cut across. If you are hurried, go around the edges’. The four ministers cut across and were stuck in the mud for a long time. They asked the boy where his parents were, and he said, ‘Father has gone to search for words. Mother has gone to search for eyes’. It is said that after a while the father came bearing beer and the mother came bearing fire.

Though they brought the boy with them and insisted that he arrange the administration, he did not arrange it. Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje heard that a man called Mchims Mang-bzher Ngan-pa was wise, and in order to steal his intellect, [Mang-po-rje] hid beer on a hill, and bearing dried meat marinated in salt water, went up after Mchims’ shift tending the sheep.

[Mang-po-rje] said, ‘They say [I] Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje will arrange the administration of Tibet. Will I arrange it?’

[Mchims said], ‘That inventor will not. Apart from me, there is no one who arranges the administration, and I won’t arrange it.’[326]

[Mang-po-rje] gave him the dried meat. He became thirsty and said, ‘Now if someone came giving something for my thirst, I’d obey whatever he said’. [Mang-po-rje] got him drunk on beer and questioned him. He spoke in detail about the division of the borders of the horns, the partition of territory, the division of military and civilian districts and so forth. He fell asleep and [Mang-po-rje] sneaked away.

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[326] While the translation of this passage is difficult, my reading agrees with that of CHAB-SPEL (1989: 99), who paraphrased this passage into modern Tibetan.

It is said that doing just as [Mchims] had said, Mgar and Dar-rgyal arranged [the administration of Tibet].

***KhG* {3.7.0}**

*mgar gyis bod kyi khod bca' ba'i phyir rde'u dang shing bu gtsigs su gsol te byang bu mdzo khal drug ldang bar bris pas byang khram ma thebs par 'khrugs nas 'phan yul dar rgyal na byis pa mang po rje bya ba 'phrul che bar thos nas blon po bzhis 'tshol du phyin pas ne gsing chen po gcig gi mthar byis pa dang phrad/ na 'di'i gzhung gcod dam mtha' bskor dris pas dal na gzhung chod rings na mtha' bskor zer/ blon po gzhis gzhung bcad pas 'dam du tshud nas yun ring 'gor/ byis pa de la pha ma gar song dris pas pha gtam 'tshol du song ma mig 'tshol du song zer/ dar cig na phas chang khyer byung / mas me khyer byung skad/ byis pa de khrid nas khod shom bcug pas kyang ma shoms/ dar rgyal mang po rjes mchims mang bzher ngan pa bya ba mdzangs par thos nas blo rku ba'i phyir ri la chang sbas/ sha skam tshwa chu byugs pa khyer nas mchims lug rdzi'i res byed pa'i phyi na yar phyin ste bod kyi khod dar rgyal mang po rjes bshom skad na shoms sam byas pas rtsom pa des mi shoms/ nga min pa shoms pa med de nga mi shom zer/ sha skam byin pas kha skom ste da lta skom ster ba byung na ci zer nyan par byas na chang gis gzir bcug nas dris pas ru mtshams 'byed pa/ yul bgod pa/ rgod g.yung gi sde 'byed pa sogs zhib par smras nas kho gnyid du btang nas bros ste khos zer ba gzhin mgar dang dar rgyal gyis bshams skad/* (*KhG*: 185-86; 19a, ll. 1-6).

## Analysis {3.7.0}

*Lde'u* relates this catalogue both to the six institutions and to the ten *tshan* and ten *sde*, which are the first measures in the double cycle of ten catalogues. In doing so, *Lde'u* seems to acknowledge that the tradition of thousand-districts belongs not only to the double cycle of ten catalogues, but also to the six institutions. The present narrative overlaps with *Lde'u*'s other catalogue of the six institutions at {3.5.3a}, which is in fact a catalogue of the six administrative chiefs (*khod-dpon*/ *khos-dpon*). There, Mgar Stong-btsan is the administrative chief of Tibet, and is based at Skyi-shod Sho-ma-ra. The above narrative places Mgar in the same place, and refers to him as the 'one who arranges the administration' (*khod-shom-mkhan*). This is a useful gloss for the term 'administrative chief' (*khod-dpon*), as it demonstrates that the administrative chiefs implemented the administration of their respective regions.

*KhG*'s reference to a place called Dar-rgyal in 'Phan-yul is in error. As URAY (1963: 206) demonstrated, Da-rgyal/ Dar-rgyal was the name of the royal lineage of Dags-po. URAY (1972a: 29-30) links the Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje of the above narrative with a Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje who is mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals* in the years 653 and 659. Significantly, this makes him a contemporary of Mgar Stong-btsan. Further, Uray identifies Mchims Mang-bzher Ngan-pa with Mchims Mang-gnyer, named elsewhere in *KhG* (292) as having served with Mgar Stong-btsan as a minister of Emperor Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan. While the names do not correspond perfectly, URAY (1972a: 31) argues, rightly, that scribes often confuse the letters *nya* and *zha*. While these identifications should not be lightly dismissed, they have some weaknesses. Da-rgyal Mang-po-rje is little more than a title, and only the first element of Mchims Mang-bzher's name is found, albeit in a slightly different form, in a passage in *KhG* relating to the reign of Emperor Khri Mang-slon (649-676).

Circumstantial evidence though it may be, it does connect the three main characters in the above narrative and relate them to the same period, namely the mid seventh century.

URAY (1972a: 24-32) edits and translates this passage and offers detailed analysis of the persons concerned. His translation differs in parts from mine and is generally unclear concerning the exchange between Mchims and Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje, but his analysis is excellent. Uray argues that this narrative was inserted into the catalogue of the six institutions (*khos-drug*) in order to divert attention from the fact that it was a minister, Mgar Stong-btsan Yul-bzung, who was responsible for these measures, and not Emperor Srong-btsan Sgam-po. URAY (1972a: 47-48) dates this later insertion to 715-718 based on the fact that the narrative promotes Mchims Btsan-bzher at the expense of Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje, which could only have occurred, Uray argues, once Dar-rgyal—the royal line of Dags-po—was out of favour, namely when Dags-po was annexed and integrated into the Tibetan Empire in 718 and placed under the control of the Mchims clan. While it is true that Dags-po was annexed in 718, the Mchims clan did not necessarily control the thousand-district of Dags-po until the mid-8th century, when they are associated with it in the catalogues of thousand-districts according to the tradition of *Lde'u, BK* and *KhG* {3.3.1b}. Thus, while Uray's reasoning is sound, his conclusion cannot be accepted. Furthermore, the narrative preserved in *Lde'u*, which Uray never saw, differs in one major respect: it is not Dar-rgyal who learns of the administration from Mchims, but Mgar who learns of the administration by getting Mchims intoxicated and appealing to his sense of rivalry with Dar-rgyal.

## Introduction {3.7.1}: the Boundaries of the Four Horns

The first of the six institutions, the boundaries of the four horns, has been translated analysed in detail in its three versions at {3.1.1}, and will not be revisited here.

## Introduction {3.7.2}: the Catalogues of Thousand-Districts

The second of the six institutions, the catalogues of thousand-districts, has been translated analysed in detail at {3.3.1b}, and likewise will not be revisited here.

## Introduction {3.7.3}

The third of the six institutions, the civilian districts, consists only of a brief statement that precedes the catalogues of civilian workers, which make up the fourth institution.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.3}: the Civilian Districts

### *Lde'u* {3.7.3}

In those lands were the so-called forty military thousand-districts, and the civilian districts [of] subject workers and servants.

### *Lde'u* {3.7.3}

*yul de rnams na rgod kyi stong sde bzhi bcu zhes bya ste/ g.yung gi mi sde 'bangs las byed dang kheng pa'o/*[327] (*Lde'u*: 273).

**_KhG_ {3.7.3}**

Concerning the division of the civilian districts, 'civilians' (*g.yung*) and 'servants' (*kheng*) are terms for labouring subjects, and 'servants' servants' (*yang kheng*) is a term for bondservants' bondservants (*yang bran*) and subordinate servants (*nying-g.yog*).

**_KhG_ {3.7.3}**

*g.yung gi mi sde 'byed pa ni g.yung ngam kheng zhes pa 'bangs las byed kyi ming yin la yang kheng zhes pa yang bran dang nying g.yog gi ming yin no/* (*KhG*: 188-89; 20b, ll. 1-2).

## Analysis {3.7.3}

These catalogues announce a rather strict separation of military and civilian life. This is also evident in the *Old Tibetan Annals*' entry for the tiger year 654, which mentions the separation of the military (*rgod*) and the civilians (*g.yung)* (*supra*, *SLS* introduction). As noted already at {3.3.1b}, thousand-districts consisted of one thousand subject households, and the duties of the thousand-district included tasks that involved logistics such as provisioning soldiers to war. It seems, therefore, that military and civilian life were not as distinct as they would appear from the above catalogues.

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[327] The editors emend the text to *kheng* [*bcas*] *pa'o*.

## Introduction {3.7.4}

The fourth institution in *Lde'u*, the subject workers, has already been translated and analysed in detail at {3.1.11}, and will not be revisited here. *KhG*'s brief catalogue of the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*) and the minister, however, warrants consideration.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.4}: the Three (Classificatory) Maternal Uncles and the Minister

### *KhG* {3.7.4}

Above, the 'Bro [clan], below, the Mchims [clan], in the middle, the Sna-nam [clan]—these along with the Sba [clan] minister comprise the 'three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*), four with the minister'. They perform the deeds of his majesty's maternal uncle (*sku-zhang*) and the prime minister.

### *KhG* {3.7.4}

*stod na 'bro smad na mchims bar na sna nam blon po sbas rnams la zhang gsum blon dang bzhi zhes sku zhang dang blon chen gyi bya ba byed do/* (*KhG*: 185; 20b, l. 4).

## Analysis {3.7.4}

The matter of the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*), four with the minister, is somewhat complicated. While *KhG* treats this as one institution, *Jo sras* divides this into two catalogues, the three maternal uncles at {3.1.4} and the four ministers at {3.1.5}. It is unclear which tradition is in error. Considering first the three (classificatory) maternal uncles (*zhang*), 'Bro, Sna-nam and Mchims, they offer a clue to the date of this catalogue. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the term *zhang* applied to members of an aristocratic clan when one of its ladies gave birth to a Tibetan emperor (or upon his subsequent accession to the throne), and the title was retained for at least four generations thereafter (DOTSON 2004: 99). Moreover, there were four clans that held this title: the 'Bro, Mchims, Tshes-pong and Sna-nam. According to the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), no Sna-nam queen bore an heir until Lady Mang-mo-rje Bzhi-steng of the Sna-nam clan gave birth to Khri Srong-lde-btsan in 742. This means that the situation described in the catalogue could only date to after the birth (or accession to the throne in 756) of this emperor. Oddly, the catalogue does not name the Tshes-pong, whose ladies bore three emperors, Srong-btsan Sgam-po, Mu-ne-btsan and Khri Lde-srong-btsan (DOTSON 2004: 88). Given that Lady Rma-rgyal Ldong-skar of the Tshes-pong clan bore the sons Mu-ne-btsan and Khri Lde-srong-btsan by Khri Srong-lde-btsan, it is unlikely that the Tshes-pong clan would have been left out of this catalogue if these royal heirs had already been born. The catalogue therefore likely dates to between 742, the year of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's birth, and the birth of his first heir, Mu-ne-btsan. The exact date of this is unknown from Old Tibetan sources, and while the *Old Tibetan Annals* mentions the birth of one of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's sons in 760, his name is not given.

The ranking of these maternal clans as upper, middle and lower is also interesting. According to the *Royal Genealogy* (PT 1286), the 'Bro was the only clan to bear Tibetan emperors in three separate generations (DOTSON 2004: 88-89), and as such, their rank as ‘upper’ in the present catalogue makes perfect sense. The Mchims clan, however, bore emperors on two separate occasions, while the Sna-nam clan only bore Khri Srong-lde-btsan, so it is unclear why the Sna-nam should be ‘middle’ and the Mchims ‘lower’. Given the proposed date of the catalogue, however, the Sna-nam clan was the classificatory maternal uncle (*zhang*) of the ruling emperor, so their ranking above the Mchims in the present catalogue would be based on their recent history.

The mention of the Sbas minister is also interesting. If we look for a prime minister of the Sbas clan who held office during the early part of Khri Srong-lde-btsan’s reign, we find Dba's Snang-bzher Zu-brtsan, who the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*’s ‘Succession of Prime Ministers’ places between 'Bal Skyes-bzang Ldong-tshab and Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag (*DTH*, 102: 132). As the former was disgraced c.754, and the latter took office in 763, Dba's Snang-bzher Zu-brtsan’s tenure as prime minister dates from c.754-763. This further specifies the date of the catalogue (YAMAGUCHI 1992: 60-61).

While the above identification of the Sbas minister is a distinct possibility, the phrase ‘Minister Sbas’ may have another point of reference. The catalogue of the eighteen shares of power in *KhG* at {3.7.5} connects ‘Minister Sbas’ with the territory of the three districts of Za-gad. As will be seen, this catalogue predates the present catalogue, and is one of the Tibetan Empire’s first attempts to transform clan territory into state (or at least state-sanctioned) territory. Za-gad was a territory in Ngas-po ('Phan-yul) belonging to Gshen Khri-bzher 'Don-kong, the minister of the interior

(*nang-blon*) of Ngas-po's ruler, Zing-po-rje Khri Pangs-sum during the mid to late sixth century. In the third chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Gshen Khri-bzher 'Don-kong's murder of Dba's Bshos-to-re Khu-gu leads to Dba's Dbyi-tshab's defection to Spu-rgyal, presumably along with a good deal of the Dba's clan (*DTH*: 103, 134). After the defeat of Zing-po-rje Khri Pangs-sum, Emperor Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan fittingly awards Dba's Dbyi-tshab the land of Za-gad, the territory of his old oppressor (MACDONALD 1971: 232). It is unlikely, however, that the catalogue of the eighteen shares of power records Dbyi-tshab's ownership of this territory. As it concerns hereditary ownership of territory, it likely refers to Dba's Dbyi-tshab's descendants, and it is they who are indicated by the phrase 'Minister Sbas'.

As far as the duties of these four high officials are concerned, the text states that they 'perform the deeds of his majesty's maternal uncle (*sku-zhang*) and the prime minister'. As noted by URAY (1967b: 384), 'his majesty's maternal uncle' (*sku-zhang*) actually refers to a Sa-skya era structure that is used here by analogy to explain the meaning of *zhang*. The term is also reminiscent of the 'veritable maternal uncle of the emperor endowed with political authority' (*btsan-po'i zhang-drung chab-srid la dbang-ba*), one of the four great ministers described in PT 1071 (*supra*, {3.1.6}).

## Introduction {3.7.5}

The administrative arrangement of territories (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) in *Lde'u* corresponds to the eighteen shares of power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*) in *KhG*. They represent one of the earliest attempts by the Tibetan Empire to transform clan-

based territory into state-based territory, or at the very least to officially ratify clan ownership of territory.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.5}: the Eighteen Shares of Power

### *Lde'u* {3.7.5}

As for the administrative arrangement of territory (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*), it is as follows:

Table 110: The Administrative Arrangement of Territory (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*).

| | Territory | Ownership |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dbu-ru Shod-chen | The emperor's own land (Btsan-po nyid kyi yul) |
| 2 | Rne-byi Court (Pho-brang Rne-byi) | The land of the emperor and the royal subjects (Btsan-po rgyal-'bangs yul) |
| 3 | Phying-nga Stag-rtse | 'Gos and Snubs |
| 4 | Bya-phu Tshags-tshig | Drang-rje Pha lnga |
| 5 | 'Phan-sna Khram-sna | 'Dzom-steng |
| 6 | Za-gad Lte-lung | Prime Minister Sbas |
| 7 | Nam-ra Tsha-dgong | 'Bri and Chag |
| 8 | Myang Grom-pa | 'Bro and Lce |
| 9 | Shangs kyi Blo | Byi-ri and Blo-byi |
| 10 | Greater and Lesser Yung-pa | Bran-ka |
| 11 | 'Dam-shod Dkar-mo | Lcog-ro |
| 12 | Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams | The Additional Horn of Sum-pa |

### *Lde'u* {3.7.5}

*yul gyi khod bshams pa ni/ dbu ru sha*[328] *chen btsan po nyid kyi yul du bcad/ pho brang rne byi btsan po rgyal 'bangs yul du bcad/ phying nga stag rtse 'gos dang snubs kyi yul du bcas/ bya phu tshags tshig drang rje pha lnga'i yul du bcad/ 'phan sna khram sna 'dzom steng gi yul du bcad/ za gad lte lung blon chen sbas kyi yul du*

328 Read *shod*.

*bcad/ nam ra tsha dgong 'bri dang chag gi yul du bcad/ myang khrom*[329] *pa 'bro dang lce'i yul du bcad/ shangs kyi blo byi ri dang blo byi'i yul du bcad/ yung pa che bhung bran ka'i yul du bcad/ 'dam shod dkar mo lcog ro'i yul du bcad/ mdo khams che chung sum pa ru yan lag gi yul du bcad do/* (*Lde'u*: 273-74).

### *KhG* {3.7.5}

As for the territorial shares of power in those [four horns of Tibet and Sum-pa's Horn], they are:

Table 111: The Eighteen Shares of Power (*dbang-ris bco-brgyad*).

| | **Territory** | **Ownership** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dbu-ru Shod-chen | The land of the emperor, the ruler (Btsan-po mnga'-bdag gi yul) |
| 2 | Sne-che Court (Pho-brang Sne-che) | The land of the emperor and the royal subjects (Btsan-po rgyal-'bangs yul) |
| 3 | Yar-lungs Sogs-kha | Khu and Gnyags |
| 4 | Ya-'brog Gangs-khyim | Ku-rings sde lnga |
| 5 | 'Ching-nga 'Ching-yul | Mgos and Snubs |
| 6 | Bya-'ugs Sa-tshigs | Drang-rje Pha lnga |
| 7 | Brad and Zhong-pa | Sna-nam |
| 8 | Upper and Lower Brag-rum | Tshe-spong |
| 9 | Upper and Lower Gtsang | 'Bro and Khyung-po |
| 10 | Klung-shod Nam-po | 'Dru and Phyugs-mtshams |
| 11 | 'Phan-yul thousand-district | Sgro and Rma |
| 12 | Nyang-ro Grom-pa | 'Bre and Lce |
| 13 | Shangs and Gle | Phyi-ri and Gle |
| 14 | Greater and Lesser Yung-ba | Bran-ka |
| 15 | Three districts of Za-gad (Za-gad sde-gsum) | Minister Sbas |
| 16 | Nam-ra Cha-gong | 'Bring and Chag |
| 17 | 'Dam-shod Dkar-mo | Phya and Rwa |
| 18 | Mdo-khams Mdo-chen | Territory of the eight military thousand-districts (Rgod stong-sde brgyad yul) |

Thus they were divided into eighteen.

[329] Read *grom*.

***KhG* {3.7.5}**

*de rnams la yul gyi dbang ris ni/ dbu ru shod chen btsan po mnga' bdag yul/ /pho brang sne che btsan po rgyal 'bangs yul/ /yar lungs sogs kha khu dang gnyags kyi yul/ /ya 'brog gangs khyim ku rings sde lnga'i yul/ /'ching nga 'ching yul mgos dang snubs kyi yul/ /bya 'ug sa tshigs drang rhe pha lnga'i yul/ /brad dang zhong pa sna nam yul du bcad/ /brag rum stod smad tshe spong yul du byas/ /gtsang stod gtsang smad 'bro dang kyung po'i yul/ /klungs shod nam po 'dru dang phyugs mtshams yul/ /'phan yul stong sde sgro dang rma yi yul/ /nyang ro grom pa 'bre dang lce yi yul/ /shangs dang gle phyi ri dang gle yi yul/ /yung ba che chung bran ka'i yul du bcad/ /zha*[330] *gad sde gsum blon po sbas kyi yul/ /nam ra cha gong 'bring dang chag gi yul/ /'dam shod dkar mo phya dang rwa yi yul/ /mdo khams mdo chen rgod stong sde brgyad yul/ /zhes bco brgyad du phye'o/* (*KhG*: 186-87; 19b, ll. 2-6).

## Analysis {3.7.5}

In both *KhG and Lde'u*, the catalogues list territories followed by the names of the clans to which they belonged. This relationship of ownership is evident also in *KhG*'s name for this structure, the 'eighteen shares of power'. This is an overly literal translation of *dbang-ris bco-brgyad*; *dbang* is rendered here as 'power', but it also indicates ownership. The word *dbang* means 'to have power over', and 'to own', and *dbang-po* can mean 'owner', and is found in Old Tibetan as a synonym of *bdag-po*.[331] *Lde'u*'s catalogue only names twelve districts, all of which correspond roughly to

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[330] Read *za*.
[331] This is evident in a legal clause of IOL Tib J 740 in which a woman's husband is referred to as her owner, and is called both *bdag-po* and *dbang-po* (DOTSON *forthcoming b*).

those in *KhG*'s catalogue, albeit it in a different order. For ease of comparison, they are been placed next to their corresponding entries in *KhG* in the following table, and their original order is given in parentheses.

Table 112: The Eighteen Shares of Power/ Administrative Arrangement of Terrritory.

| | **Territory (*KhG*)** | **Ownership (*KhG*)** | **Territory (*Lde'u*)** | **Ownership (*Lde'u*)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dbu-ru Shod-chen | The land of the emperor, the ruler (Btsan-po mnga'-bdag gi yul) | Dbu-ru Shod-chen (1) | The emperor's own land (Btsan-po nyid kyi yul) |
| 2 | Sne-che Court (Pho-brang Sne-che) | The land of the emperor and the royal subjects (Btsan-po rgyal-'bangs yul) | Rne-byi Court (Pho-brang Rne-byi) (2) | The land of the emperor and the royal subjects (Btsan-po rgyal-'bangs yul) |
| 3 | Yar-lungs Sogs-kha | Khu and Gnyags | | |
| 4 | Ya-'brog Gangs-khyim | Ku-rings sde lnga | | |
| 5 | 'Ching-nga 'Ching-yul | Mgos and Snubs | Phying-nga Stag-rtse (3) | 'Gos and Snubs |
| 6 | Bya-'ugs Sa-tshigs | Drang-rje Pha lnga | Bya-phu Tshags-tshig (4) | Drang-rje Pha lnga |
| 7 | Brad and Zhong-pa | Sna-nam | | |
| 8 | Upper and Lower Brag-rum | Tshe-spong | | |
| 9 | Upper and Lower Gtsang | 'Bro and Khyung-po | | |
| 10 | Klung-shod Nam-po | 'Dru and Phyugs-mtshams | | |
| 11 | 'Phan-yul thousand-district | Sgro and Rma | 'Phan-sna Khram-sna (5) | 'Dzom-steng |
| 12 | Nyang-ro Grom-pa | 'Bre and Lce | Myang Grom-pa (8) | 'Bro and Lce |
| 13 | Shangs and Gle | Phyi-ri and Gle | Shangs ki Blo (9) | Byi-ri and Blo-byi |
| 14 | Greater and Lesser Yung-ba | Bran-ka | Greater and Lesser Yung-pa (10) | Bran-ka |
| 15 | Three districts of Za-gad | Minister Sbas | Za-gad Lte-lung (6) | Prime Minister Sbas |
| 16 | Nam-ra Cha-gong | 'Bring and Chag | Nam-ra Tsha-dgong (7) | 'Bri and Chag |
| 17 | 'Dam-shod Dkar- | Phya and Rwa | 'Dam-shod Dkar- | Lcog-ro |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | mo | | mo (11) | |
| 18 | Mdo-khams Mdo-chen | Territory of the eight military thousand-districts (Rgod stong-sde brgyad yul) | Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams (12) | The territory of the Additional Horn of Sum-pa (Sum-pa ru yan-lag gi yul) |

The territorial division of land into eighteen units is a popular formula found elsewhere in Tibetan literature. A passage in *GK* (184), analysed in detail at {3.3.1b}, where it was argued that it pertains to a latter half of the seventh century, mentions eighteen thousand-districts as follows:

> In the realm of Tibet, the thousand-districts are generally a treasury. The three thousand-districts for the affairs of the king and his entourage, two thousand-districts commanded by the Left Horn, the five thousand-districts under the political authority and command of Central Horn, the seven thousand-districts commanded by Right Horn and Left [Branch] Horn; the eighteen thousand-districts [form] the basis of Tibet.

The rough correspondence of *GK*'s catalogue to those of *Lde'u* and *KhG* is indicated by the fact that the first three thousand-districts are said to belong to the ruler and his entourage, which corresponds with the first two territories in *KhG* and *Lde'u*. Of course *GK*'s districts only total seventeen, and the territories in *KhG* and *Lde'u* are not divided between the four horns in any systematic manner. The catalogue of the shares of power in *KhG* appears directly after the catalogue of the borders of the four horns of Tibet and Sum-pa's Horn at {3.1.1}, however, and explicitly states that the shares of power are located in these territories. Moreover, only a brief look at the catalogue in *KhG* with regard to the geography of thousand-districts indicates that the third, fourth and fifth territories all pertain to Left Horn, while in *GK*'s catalogue Left Horn only lays claim to two thousand-districts. The correspondence between the eighteen thousand-districts in *GK* and the eighteen shares of power in *KhG* therefore seems to only be coincidental. One possibility is that these structures borrowed from each

other, or, for example, that the eighteen shares of power preserved some of the units in *GK*'s schema once it became obsolete.

The tradition of dividing territory into eighteen units is very common, and there is also a tradition according to which Tibet was originally divided into eighteen districts according to tribes.[332] Eighteen thousand-districts are also mentioned as the territory of the 'seven Za-rid brothers', who appear as the tenth in *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the twelve 'power wielders' (*dbang-mdzad*)—non-human beings who ruled Tibet in successive stages before the advent of man (*Lde'u*: 224). A tradition of eighteen thousand-districts is also found, however, in *KhG* (415) in connection with Tibetan conflicts with China during the reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (Ral-pa-can), underlining once more the formulaic nature of this structure.

Formulaic though the structure may be, the contents of the above catalogues are very intriguing. Aside from the rich amount a data concerning famous Tibetan clans, and information about Tibetan historical geography, this list contains a few entries of further importance. The first two entries are one of the few sources that reveal anything about the land holdings of the Tibetan emperor. URAY (1960: 33-34) noted in his analysis of the four horns of Tibet that Dbu-ru Shod-chen, listed in both *Lde'u* and *KhG* as the emperor's territory, appears in the *Old Tibetan Annals* in the years 684 and 724 as the locale for the summer assembly.

The final share of power provides an explicit reference to the existence of a system of military thousand-districts in Eastern Tibet about which little is known. As noted at {3.3.8a}, Mdo-khams is a large territorial unit that includes Bde-blon-khams, in which the five Mthong-khyab ten-thousand-districts are located. While it was also

[332] Thomas cites the *La dwags rgyal rabs* and the *Bka' 'gyur* in connection with his claim that Tibet was originally divided into eighteen districts (*TLTD1*: 283-84).

assumed there that Mdo-khams lies to the northeast of Sum-pa's Horn, *Lde'u*'s catalogue of the administrative arrangement of territory explicitly equates Greater and Lesser Mdo-khams with the territory of the Sum-pa's Branch Horn (*sum-pa ru yan-lag gi yul*). This is also implied in *KhG*, since the catalogue of the shares of power appears directly after the catalogue of the borders of the four horns of Tibet and Sum-pa's Horn at {3.1.1}, and explicitly states that the shares of power are located in these territories. Further, since Sum-pa's Horn was not created until 702, this catalogue—or at least *Lde'u*'s version of it—necessarily post-dates 702. The same cannot be said of the catalogue in *KhG*, however, which may represent an earlier version of the same catalogue.

It is unclear whether these catalogues represent an early organisation of territory or an administrative arrangement of territory that existed alongside other structures such as the thousand-districts and administrative districts (*yul-dpon-tshan*). CHAB-SPEL (1989: 107-08) understands the eighteen shares of power as a crucial transitional period from clan territory to state territory that laid the foundation for the introduction of imperial tax, law and administration to areas that were previously legislated by clan leaders. YAMAGUCHI (1970b: 101, n. 22), for his part, cites the absence of the Mgar clan as evidence in support of his assertion that the list of eighteen shares of power reflects an organisation of territory from the time of Khri Srong-lde-btsan. This is a good point, as the Mgar were disgraced at the turn of the eighth century and fled to China.

As a possible counter-example to Yamaguchi's claim, we have already noted above at {3.7.4} the significance of the catalogue's designation of the three districts of Za-gad as the territory of 'Minister Sbas', since the Sbas clan's association with this territory dates to the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan. It is interesting to note in this

connection that *Lde'u* refers to this not as the territory of ‘Minister Sbas’, but as that of ‘Prime Minister Sbas’. If this is to be taken at face value, then it offers several options to choose from, since, according to the ‘Succession of Prime Ministers’ in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the Sbas clan provided no fewer than six prime ministers. As noted above in the dating of the previous catalogue, Dba's Snang-bzher Zu-brtsan likely held this office from c.754 to 763. Before him, Dba's Stag-sgra Kong-lod held office for only one year, from 727-728. Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen, however, held office from 705 to 721, when he was succeeded by Dba's Khri-sum-rje Rtsan-bzher, who was replaced in 725. The ‘Succcession’ also states that Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen served as prime minister before the tenure of Mgar Khri-'bring Btsan-brod. According to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, however, this would be impossible, since the latter was appointed prime minister after the death of his brother, Mgar Btsan-snya Ldom-bu, who had held the post from 680 at the latest. If indeed Dba's Khri-gzigs Zhang-nyen was prime minister, his tenure therefore likely dates to the reign of Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan, for whom no prime ministers are mentioned between Mgar Stong-rtsan’s death in 667 and Emperor Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan’s death in 676. The only other Dba's prime minister, Skyes-bzang Stag-snang, likely came to power in 841 with Khri U'i Dum-brtan’s accession to the throne. As noted above, however, *Lde'u*’s mention of Sum-pa’s Horn means that its catalogue necessarily post-dates 702, so the most relevant of the above dates are 705 to 725 and c.754-763. On the other hand, *Lde'u*’s ‘Prime Minister Sbas’ may just be an error for ‘Minister Sbas’.

As a second possible counter example to Yamaguchi’s claim, *KhG*’s association of the Sgro and Rma clans with 'Phan-yul thousand-district may offer another claim to antiquity. The association of the the Sgro and Rma clans with 'Phan-yul thousand-district would appear to be in direct conflict with the inscription of the

Zhol Pillar (c.764), which recounts grants made to the minister Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khong. Among these grants was the hereditary right of his male descendants to the post of the head of thousand-district (*stong-dpon*) of the 'royal guard thousand-district' (*sku-srung stong-sde*) of 'Phan-yul (LI AND COBLIN 1987: 149, 171-72; RICHARDSON 1985: 20-23). Given the hereditary nature of this grant, one would expect that any catalogues of territory from c.764 to the end of the empire would associate the Ngan-lam clan with 'Phan-yul. On the other hand, it is possible that these two institutions existed alongside one another, since one is a thousand-district while the other is a royal guard thousand-district.

One of the most convincing arguments for this structure's antiquity is its title as retained in *Lde'u*. The 'administrative arrangement of territories' (*yul gyi khod bshams-pa*) recalls Mgar Stong-rtsan's title in the preamble to the six institutions: 'Concerning the six institutions, the administration (*khod*) of Tibet was carried out at Kyi Sho-ma-ra. The one who arranged the administration (*khod-shom-mkhan*) was Mgar Stong-btsan' (*supra*, {3.7.0}). Futher, Mgar's location in Kyi-shod Sho-ma-ra, and his identity correspond exactly to the catalogue of the six administrative chiefs (*khod-dpon*) at {3.5.3a}, which names Mgar Stong-rtsan as the administrative chief of Tibet and places him in Kyi-shod Sho-ma-ra. The catalogue of administrative chiefs is the oldest datable catalogue in the *SLS*, likely dating to the mid-630s. Given the parallel language, and its close link with this catalogue, the present catalogues may well reflect records of those measures carried out by Tibet's administrative chief, beginning with Mgar Stong-rtsan. Further, this might account for the absence of the Mgar clan in the list, since their territory would presumably be Kyi-shod Sho-ma-ra, from whence Mgar created this division of territories. Were this to be the case, then there presumably would have been similar territorial 'shares of power' in Zhang-

zhung, Sum-pa, Chibs and Mthong-khyab, arranged by the other administrative chiefs.

Looking now to some of the stranger features of these catalogues, it should be noted that 'Dzom-steng, listed in *Lde'u* as the 'owner' of 'Phan-sna Khram-sna, is in fact a place name, and presumably corresponds to Zom-steng, which *BK* names as a thousand-district of Lower Right Horn {3.3.1}. Apart from this, there are a few 'owners' who are not represented by traditional clan names. These are the Ku-rings sde lnga, 'owners' or Ya-'brog Gangs-khyim, and the Drang-rje Pha lnga, 'owners' of Bya-'ugs Sa-tshigs. The former, the five sections of the Ku-rings, are, according to DUNG-DKAR (2002: 55), an unknown group of tribes. DUNG-DKAR (2002: 1106) associates the five fathers of Drang-rje with Drang-gar rje, named in some post-dynastic histories as a minor king during the reign of Stag-bu Snya-gzigs. Indeed, according to the list of minor kings in the *Royal Genealogy*, Drang-rje Rnol-nam ruled the minor kingdom of Sribs-yul kyi Ral-mo-gong (LALOU 1965: 202). It is possible, therefore, that Drang-rje Pha lnga here refers to five patriarchs descended from the Drang-rje royal line. According to DUNG-DKAR (2002: 1469), their territory, Bya-'ugs Sa-tshigs, is in fact a contraction of Bya-yul and 'Ug-pa, two separate areas. The 'five Ku-rings sections' and 'five Drang-rje patriarchs' are rather odd, yet formulaic names, and their precise points of reference cannot here be entirely resolved.[333] Their inclusion in the above catalogue is further evidence, however, of its formulaic nature.

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[333] SØRENSEN AND HAZOD (2005: 224, n. 10) extend the possibility that the Drang-rje Pha lnga are to be identified with Drang-ba Drangs-ma-mgur (Drang-nga'gur), one of the nine Ma-sangs brothers. This is a famous group of beings that served as 'power-wielders' (*dbang-mdzad*) during the successive stages when non-humans ruled Tibet before human habitation. The nine Ma-sangs brothers also have intriguing associations with both Pe-har and Ge-sar.

The eighteen shares of power remain a mysterious division of territory. Its association of clans with territory, its inclusion of the emperor's own land and its reference to ancient associations such as that of the Sbas clan with Za-gad lend weight to the assumption that it reflects one of imperial Tibet's first attempts to transform clan territory into state territory. On the other hand, *Lde'u*'s catalogue necessarily post-dates 702, and most likely dates to between 705 and 725 or c.754-763, periods during which Tibet's tradition of thousand-districts was already well-established. This tradition of territorial division therefore ran parallel to others, such as the thousand-districts, and was perhaps eventually superseded by these in what constituted another step in the 'nationalisation' of clan territory. One possible interpretation of the 'shares of power' is that they represent huge land grants given to ministers and their clans. In this case, they might represent 'estates' (DAVIDSON 2005: 81), but, given their size—some like Upper and Lower Gtsang are indeed provinces of Tibet—they might be regarded as something more. In this sense, they represent a record of the *modus operandi* of the Tibetan Empire's expansion: lands conquered by aristocratic generals were often awarded to them by the ruler, and the borders and grants often merely formalised the de-facto situation and ratified long-held associations of clans with particular territories.

## Introduction {3.7.6}

As the final catalogue of the six institutions is divided into three—the upper, middle and lower regiments of heroes—these will be considered in three separate sections for ease of comparison.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.6a}: the Upper Regiment of Heroes

### *Lde'u* {3.7.6a}

As for the manner of the establishment of the upper, middle, and lower regiments of heroes (*dpa'-sde*), the upper regiment of heroes [extended] from So-brag Stag-po-rong down to Mon Kha-bzhi. The 'Bro, Khyung-po, 'Gar, Snubs, Gnyan and 'Dre [clans] were stationed in the five districts of Gug-cog, which were situated in that area. Gug-ge and Gug-cog acted as leaders [command centres]. They burnt by moxibustion the right breast of the Hor lady Spir mdung-can, wife of the Golden-eye Turk (Gru-gu Ser-mig-can). They completely removed three sections [of viscera] about the size of a head (*mda' spar gsum gyi mgo tsam-pa*), and covered a stone with them. They then faced [the Turks], and when they fought they raised the tiger hut (*stag gi spyil-po*) as a sign of their heroism. They killed [the Turks'] horses in battle, scalped the hair of their heads, and smeared their faces in blood. Acting as if they would never return, they waged war and were heroic.

### *Lde'u* {3.7.6a}

*stod smad bar gsum gyi dpa' sde bskos lugs ni/ stod kyi dpa' sde so brag stag po rong yan chad/ mon kha bzhi man chad de/ yul de na gnas pa'i gug cog sde lnga la/ 'bro/ khyung po/ 'gar/ snubs/ gnyan 'dre lnga gnas te/ gug ge dang gug cog gis dpon bya ste/ gru gu gser mig can gyi chung ma hor mo spir mdung can/ nu ma g.yas pa me btsas bsregs nas/ mda' spar gsum gyi mgo tsam pa/ rdo kheb la'ang cur 'byin pa la kha bltas nas 'thab pa'i tshe/ dpa' mtshan stag gi spyil po phub/ 'og rta g.yul du*

*bsad/ mgo'i skra bshig gdong pa khrag gis byugs/ slar mi ldog pa'i tshul byas nas 'thab pas na dpa' 'o/* (*Lde'u*: 274).

***KhG* {3.7.6a}**

As for the three regiments of heroes (*dpa'-ba'i sde*), from Ri-brang Stag-pa-gong down to Mon-dbral Kha-bzhi, the 'Bro, Khyung, Mgar, Snubs, and Gnyan [clans] acted as leaders of the five districts of Gug-cog.[334] They burnt by moxibustion the right breast of the Hor lady Bar-mdung-can, the wife of the Golden-eye Turk (Gru-gu Ser-mig-can). On a flat slab they completely removed three measures and viscera (*lde-'u*) the size of a dog's head, flung it, and faced [the Turks].[335] They pitched a tiger hut (*stag gi lcil-po*) as a sign of their heroism. They killed [the Turks'] horses in battle. They smeared their faces in blood, and determining that they would never return, they went into battle and defeated the Turks (Gru-gu).

***KhG* {3.7.6a}**

*dpa' ba'i sde bsum ni ri brang stag pa gong yan chad mon dbral kha bzhi man chad na 'bro khyung mgar snubs gnyan te gug cog sde lngas dpon byas/ gru gu gser mig can gyi chung ma hor mo bar mdung can nu ma g.yas pa me btsas bsregs nas mda' par gsum lde 'u khyi mgo tsam rdo kheb la cur 'byin pa 'phen pa la kha bltas nas/ dpa' mtshan du stag gi lcil po phub/ 'og rta g.yul du bsad/ gdong khrag gis byugs*

[334] Otherwise, 'the five districts of Gug-cog acted as leaders'.
[335] This passage is particularly difficult to interpret and the translation is necessarily provisional. It reads: *mda' par gsum lde 'u khyi mgo tsam rdo leb la cur 'byin pa 'phen ba la kha bltas nas.* The word *lde'u* has been translated in the sense of its meaning as either 'syrup' or 'peas', as a description of some type of organ removed from her in order to demoralise their Turk opponents. *Mda'* has been translated as a measure; it is commonly used this way in the context of butchering an animal.

*ste slar mi ldog pa'i rtsis su byas nas rgol bas gru gu btul ba 'o/* (*KhG*: 189; 20b, ll. 4-6).

## Analysis {3.7.6a}

The language describing the three regiments of heroes is somewhat archaic, and therefore difficult to translate. The passage refers, for example, to riding horses (*'og-rta*), a term that is uncommon in Classical Tibetan, but found in the legal clauses of PT 1071 and PT 1072. Further, its mention of a 'tiger hut' (*stag gi spyil-po/ lcil-po*) as a sign of heroism (*dpa'-mtshan*) recalls many of the other tiger-related military insignia discussed already, and echoes the language used to describe the 'fruit of the tiger' (stagI thog-bu) in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which was also referred to as a 'sign of heroism' (*dpa'-ba'I mtshan-ma*) (PT 1287, ll. 385-86; *supra,* {3.1.7}). The clans mentioned also tend to suggest an early origin for this institution, since, as mentioned above, the inclusion of the Mgar clan can be taken to indicate a pre-eighth century origin. The sheer brutality of the soldiers is also striking, and it is interesting to note that it is in this part of the passage that the language of *Lde'u* and *KhG* overlaps most closely.

Based on the location of these soldiers and their base at Gu-ge and Gug-cog, it is evident that Gru-gu here refers to the Western Turks.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.6b}: the Middle Regiment of Heroes

### *Lde'u* {3.7.6b}

As for the middle regiment of heroes, Ri-spen Ma-lung made the upward edge and Chags-sgo Dang-pa made the lower. In those lands the sub-thousand-district of Nags-shod acted as chief [distict] of the twelve royal districts (*rgyal-sde*). The Ljang lady with the chain spear came into battle carrying an elephant spear, and when in battle, they drew emblems on their swords as a sign of their heroism. When eating funerary food as their meals, they wore their *tsha-lob* on their backs, and thinking that they would never return, they were heroic, acting with their heroic blades.

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.7.6b}**

*bar gyi dpa' sde ni/ ri spen ma lung gyi yar bcad/ chags sgo dang pas mar bcad pa'i yul de na rgyal sde bcu gnyis la/ nags shod stong bu chung gis dpon byas te/ ljang mo thag mdung can glang po che'i mdung khur te/ dmag dang bcas nas 'ongs pa la/ 'thab pa'i tshe/ dpa' rtags su ral gri la ri mo bris/ dur rgyags ltor zos/ tsha leb*[336] *rgyab du gon/ slar mi ldog pa'i bsam pa dang bcas te/ dpa' bo'i ral kha byas pas na dpa ba'o/* (*Lde'u*: 274-75).

### ***KhG*** **{3.7.6b}**

As for the middle regiment of heroes, the twelve hidden extensive districts (*sbas rgya-sde*)[337] were situated in the lands from Ri-pe Nam-lung down to Cha-skong Dar-bas, and Nags-shod acted as the chief [district]. The Ljang lady was impaled at the end of a rope spear and run into the midst of battle. When in battle, they drew emblems on their swords as a sign of their heroism. When eating funerary food as

[336] Read *lob*/ *log*.

[337] The phrase *sbas rya-sde* could also mean ‘extensive districts of the Sbas clan’, but this seems unlikely.

their meals, they wore their *tsha-slog* on their backs. Appearing as if they would not return, they went into battle and vanquished Ljang.

***KhG* {3.7.6b}**

*/bar gyi dpa' sde ni ri pe nam lung yan chad cha skong dar bas man chad yul de na sbas rgya sde bcu gnyis gnas pas nags shod kyi*[338] *dpon byas te ljang mo thag mdung gyi rtse mo btsugs nas dmag gseb tu rgyug pa la rgol ba'i tshe dpa' mtshan du ral gri la ri mo bris dur rgyags ltor zos tsha slog rgyab tu gon ste mi ldog pa'i chas su byas na rgol pas ljang btul lo/* (*KhG*: 189; 20b, ll. 6-7).

## Analysis {3.7.6b}

Here, as elsewhere, the catalogue overlaps with other parts of the *Section on Law and State*. The statement that Nags-shod was the sub-thousand-district that acted as the chief of the middle regiment overlaps with the catalogues of thousand-districts at {3.3.1b}, where Nags-shod is the little thousand-district of Sum-pa's Horn.

The enemy, in this case, is identified by the term Ljang/ 'Jang, which refers to either the Moso peoples of northwest Yunnan or to Nanzhao, which was not yet established as a unified kingdom until the middle of the eighth century (BACKUS 1981: 43-44). The *Old Tibetan Annals* states that in the winter of hare year 703, Emperor 'Dus-srong went to the country of 'Jang and defeated it (*dgun btsan po 'jang yul du gshegste/ 'jang phab /*) (IOL Tib J 750, l. 94; *DTH*: 19, 40). This is also mentioned in the *Chronicle*'s narration of these same events: 'Later, a campaign was led against the king of 'Jang and the White Mywa were made to pay tribute. The

[338] Read *kyis*.

Black Mywa were gathered as subjects and so on' *(/ 'ung gI 'og du 'jang la chab srid mdzad de mywa dkar po dpya' phab / / mywa nag po 'bangsu bkug pa la stsogste /*) (PT 1287, ll. 334-35; *DTH*: 112, 149-50). The 'Jang are mentioned elsewhere in the *Chronicle* as well. During the reign of Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan, the *Chronicle* stresses the importance of the Nanzhao-Tibet alliance:

> In the lower part of the southern region was the king of a not small group [forming] a branch of the 'Jang called the White Mywa (Bai Man). The king ['Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan] proclaimed with the abundance of his profound mind and his method, and the Mywa king, who was called Kag-la-bong, offered obeisance as a subject and was bestowed with the rank of younger brother, thus adding many people [to the Tibetan fold], and the side of the large country increased. (*/ lho pyogs kyI smad na 'jang dum mywa dkar po zhes bya ba 'i rgyal po sde myI cung ba zhig 'dug pa / / rgyal po thugs sgam po 'i rlabs dang thabs kyis bka' stsal te /mywa 'I rgyal po kag la bong zhes bya ba / / 'bangs su pyag 'tshal nas / thabs gcung stsal te / myi mang gI snon btab / yul che 'I ni 'dab bskyed do / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 343-46; *DTH*: 113, 150).

This passage refers to the pact concluded between Tibet and Nanzhao in 751 and 752. Kag-la-bong refers to Ko-lo-feng, who ruled Nanzhao from 748-779, and was bestowed with the title 'younger brother' (BACKUS 1981: 71). This parallels a similar practice in which the Chinese emperor would bestow on an important, but subordinate vassal ruler the fictive kinship title of younger brother. This alliance between Tibet and Nanzhao lasted until 794, when Nanzhao unexpectedly switched allegiances and sided with Tang China to attack Tibet (BECKWITH 1987: 156, n. 91).

A passage in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* relating to the reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan reveals that the alliance was frayed:

> During the reign of this king (*rgyal-po*), 'Bro Khri-gzu' Ram-shags led a campaign to the upper (western) regions (Stod-phyogs), and, gathering Khotan (Li) as subjects, put them under tribute. Later, at the time when the White Mywa, who had been subjects [of the Btsan-po], became disloyal, 'Bro Ram-shags was proclaimed general, and at the time that he waged a great battle at

> Brag-rtse, he killed many 'Jang. He captured three hundred and twelve from commoners upwards, along with ministers (*sna la gthogs-pa*)[339] important figures and the chief inspector near to the ['Jang lord's] inner circle (*spyan chen-po nying-rim*), and even Gol, the lord of Nanzhao, paid homage and [Ram-shags] truly gathered them as subjects and put them under tribute as it had been earlier established. (*rgyal po 'dI 'I ring la / 'bro khri gzu' ram shags kyis / stod pyogs su drangste / lI 'bangs su bkug nas dpya' phab bo / / 'ung gI 'og du mywa dkar po 'bangs su mnga' ba las / glo ba rIngs pa 'I tshe / dmag phon 'bro ram shags / / bka' stsal nas / brag rtser nol thabs bkye ba 'i tshe / / 'jang mang po bkum nas / / spyan chen po nying rim dang / sna la gthogs pa dang / dmangs yan chad sum brgya' rtsa bcu gnyIs bzung nas / 'jang rje gol gyis kyang pyag 'tshal te / 'bangs rnal mar bkug nas / dpya' phab ste snga mkho bzhin du bkod do / /*) (PT 1287, ll. 391-97; *DTH*: 115, 154-55).

While this passage might seem to refer to the end of Tibet's alliance with Nanzhao in 794, SATO (1958-59: 601-04; cited in BACKUS 1981: 82) apparently believes that this passage refers to a temporary break in the Tibet-Nanzhao alliance that occurred in the mid-770s. Judging from the description, however, it is likely that the *Chronicle* refers here to the events of 791, when the former Nanzhao minister Duan Zhong Yi fell into Tibetan hands while in possession of a letter from the Chinese urging Nanzhao's realliance with Tang China. The Tibetans confronted the Nanzhao king, Yi Mou Xun, and despite his attempts to placate them, the Tibetan representatives in Nanzhao took as captives many sons of high-ranking Nanzhao ministers (BACKUS 1981: 94-94). The name of the Nanzhao lord, Gol, however, resembles neither that of Yi Mou Xun nor that of any other known Nanzhao ruler. This chronology agrees with the date for the subjugation of Khotan, mentioned immediately before the attack on Nanzhao, as BECKWITH (1987: 155) dates this to before 794, most likely in 791 or 792. If this chronology is correct, this would make this passage the latest point of reference in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*'s narrative history.

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[339] On this term, see the discussion at {3.3.4b}.

'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags served as prime minister during the late part of Khri Srong-lde-btsan's reign, and during the reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan. The Skar-chung Edict, likely dating to c.812, lists him as prime minister (*KhG*: 412). Khri Srong-lde-btsan's Bsam-yas Edict, dating to c. 779, names Minister Gra-'dzi, Zhang Rams-shags as the first minister of the interior to swear to the oath to uphold Buddhism as the state religion (*KhG*: 372). Given 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-shags' involvement in the above passage, and the fact that the events ended in a rapprochement, the events of 791 seem more likely to be indicated than those of the 770s or the final break with Nanzhao in 794.

Given the proposed pre-8th century date of the catalogue of the upper regiment of heroes, it is likely that the present catalogue refers to the earliest conflicts with Ljang, perhaps even those of 703. The three regiments likely all date to the same period, however, so perhaps this refers to an earlier, thus-far unknown conflict with Ljang.

As with the description of the upper regiment of heroes, the above passage contains some traces of archaic language. Further, it offers some insights into the cultural practices of early Tibet. As before, the regiment behave as if they will never return, and do so by eating funerary food as their meals, and wearing their *tsha-lob*/ *tsha-log* on their backs.[340] This is perhaps simply a colorful part of the narrative, but it does suggest that the soldiers carried with them some special food for their last meal. The matter of the *tsha-lob*, however, is more complex. The *tsha-lob,* or *dbon-lob*, is found in the context of Old Tibetan funeral texts, and in funerary narratives of a popular Bon-po text, the *Klu 'bum bum nag po* (10b, l. 1). In the passage above, it is

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[340] While *lob* is the normative spelling, *log* is attested as an Old Tibetan variant (STEIN 2003 [1988]: 605).

evidently something that is worn in preparation for death. This is in perfect agreement with Lalou's interpretation of the *dbon-lob* in the Old Tibetan funerary text PT 1042. In her analysis of this text, LALOU (1952: 349, n. 1) suggests that *lob* may relate to *klub*, meaning, 'to cover the body with ornaments', or *rlubs-pa*, meaning 'cover'.

While the meaning of the suffix *lob* is essential for an understanding of the term *dbon-lob*/ *tsha-lob*, it is essential not to ignore *dbon*/ *tsha* itself, which indicates (uterine) nephew, son-in-law, or, more generally, wife-receiver.[341] The presence of the deceased's relatives in these Old Tibetan funerary texts, particularly the maternal uncle/ (classificatory) wife-giver (*zhang*), and the *dbon-lob*, if it is to be taken as a person, is particularly interesting in light of Oppitz's theory of the 'elementary structures of funeral rituals'. Investigating the funeral traditions of the Northern Magar and the Gurung of Northern Nepal, OPPITZ (1978) observes that the actors in funerary rites are essentially the same as those involved in marriage rites and that their functions carry the same meaning in both types of transition-oriented rituals. Simply put, the wife givers always give and never receive, and the wife receivers, at the funeral as in life, provide service to the deceased and his family, and receive gifts (OPPITZ 1978: 405). In fact, kin relations of the deceased are often present in Old Tibetan funerary documents, and the presence of the *mag-pa* (in-marrying husband/ wife-receiver) in this context, and indeed in parallel rituals contained in the *Klu 'bum nag po* (6a, l. 4) is notable for this reason (STEIN 2003 [1988]: 604). Indeed, STEIN (1970: 180-81, n. 32) underlines the kinship aspect of the term *dbon-lob* in his analysis of the Old Tibetan funerary text PT 239, and concludes that *dbon-lob* is not an object, as Lalou claimed, but a blood relative by allegiance—a (uterine) nephew, grandson or son-in-law of the deceased. It is evident from Stein's text, however, that

[341] This term also indicates grandson. On this term, see UEBACH 1980.

the *dbon-lob* is sacrificed and serves as one of the psychopomps that aid the deceased in his travels to the land of the dead (STEIN 1970: 169, 181, n. 32). Stein therefore wonders whether the *dbon-lob* is in fact a human, or an animal that acts as a stand-in. The passage above indicates that it is a worn object, but this does not rule out the possibility that this is a later development, or that, alternatively, the worn *tsha-lob* could re-animate as a psychopomp with the death of its wearer and the proper rites.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.7.6c}: the Lower Regiment of Heroes

### *Lde'u* {3.7.6c}

As for the lower regiment of heroes, Dma'i Spom-ra made the lower edge and Bka'-thang Klu-rtse made the upper. The nine Mthong-khyab districts (*srid-sde*), adding on top of which the six Bzhi-zha districts, were situated in the border-fixing territory at Lom-shi Rgya-mkhar. In the area between the Chinese watch-posts, in which nine horsemen could ride abreast, a man the size of as a small house (*spe*)[342] wielded a battle-axe with a blade the size of a cubit.[343] When going into battle, Dor-te and Phyug-'tshams, the sons of Ldong-Stong, acted as chiefs. As a sign of their heroism they broke their scabbards. They left their last wills and testaments to their relatives and entrusted their families to their neighbours. Thinking that they would not return, they used their heroic spearheads (*mdung-kha*) and were heroic.

As for those who completely defeated the enemies, they were the Ldong and Stong. In each generation the Rmu and the Se were insufficient to serve. So it is said.

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[342] On the meaning of this term, see BTSAN-LHA 1997: 459-60.
[343] The translation of / *rgya'i so mkhar byang gi bar la rta pa dgu sgril rgyug tu btub pa'i nang na/ mi spe thung tsam pas dgra sta'i kha khru re tsam thogs nas* is uncertain.

As for that, it is the exposition of the six times six make thirty-six legal statutes (*khrims-tshig*).

### ***Lde'u*** **{3.7.6c}**

*smad kyi spa' sde ni/ dma'i*[344] *spom ras mar bcad/ bka' thang klu rtses yar bcad/ lom shi rgya mkhar la so mtshams gtad pa'i yul de na/ gnas pa'i mthong khyab srid sde dgu'i steng du bzhi zha sde drug bsnan pa la/ rgya'i so mkhar byang gi bar la rta pa dgu sgril rgyug tu btub pa'i nang na/ mi spe thung tsam pas dgra sta'i kha khru re tsam thogs nas/ 'thab pa'i tshe/ ldong stong gi bu dor te phyug 'tshams kyis dpon byas nas/ dpa' rtags su ral gri'i shubs bcag kha chems nye ba la bzhag bu smad grong pa la bcol nas/ phyir mi ldog pa'i bsam pa dang bcas nas/ dpa' bo yi mdung kha byed pas na dpa' ba 'o/*

*gtan du dgra thul ba ni ldong stong gnyis so/ rmu dang ses mi rabs re re las ma thub skad do/ des ni khrims tshig sum cu rtsa drug tu bstan pa'o/* (*Lde'u*: 275).

### ***KhG*** **{3.7.6c}**

As for the lower regiment of heroes, the nine Mthong-khyab districts (*srid-sde*) and the six 'A-zha thousand-districts were situated in the lands from Rma Pom-ra down to Ka-thang Klu-tshes. On the top of the external wall of the Chinese watch-post, among nine horsemen riding in formation, [was] a man the size of a fortress, wielding a short-shafted battle-axe with a blade the size of a cubit. When going into battle, Phyugs-mtshams, son of Ldong-Stong, acted as chief. As a sign of their heroism they broke their scabbards. They left their last wills and testaments to their relatives and entrusted their families to their closest relatives. Determining that they

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[344] The editor corrects this to *rma'i*.

would not return, they went into battle and defeated the Chinese. So the lower regiment of heroes.

**_KhG_ {3.7.6c}**

*smad kyi spa' sde ni ma pom ra man chad ka thang klu tshe yan chad na mthong khyab srid sde dgu dang 'a zha stong sde drug gnas pa la/ rgya'i so mkhar gyi lcags ri'i steng du rta pa dgu bsgrigs rgyug pa'i nang nas mi mkhar thung tsam gyis dgra sta'i kha khrung tsam pa thogs pa la rgol ba'i tshe/ ltong ltong*[345] *gi bu phyugs mtshams kyis dpon byas dpa' mtshan dsu ral gri'i shubs bcag kha chems nye ba la phog bu smad nye drung la bcol nas mi ldog pa'i rtsis kyis rgol bas rgya thul bas smad kyi dpa' sde'o/* (*KhG*: 189-90; 20b, l. 7-21a, l. 2).

## Analysis {3.7.6c}

Rong Xinjiang analyses the catalogue of the lower regiment of heroes in the course of his study devoted to Mthong-khyab, and presents it in a table (RONG 1990-91: 255). RONG (1990-91: 256) equated Mthong-khyab with the Tongjia tribe and demonstrated that the Mthong-khyab people formed the vanguard of Tibet's military force against the Chinese. Further, RONG (1990-91: 258) dates the three regiments of heroes to 'the second half of the seventh century or the first part of the eighth century'. This is in general agreement with the dates proposed above for the middle and upper regiments.

As before, the language of this clause does not make for easy translation, and the passage is notable for its inclusion of funerary themes, in this case a last will and

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[345] Read *ldong stong*.

testament. Another feature of this passage, its mention of Dor-te and Phyugs-mtshams as 'sons' of Ldong-Stong, warrants examination. Dor-te and Phyugs-mtshams are thousand-districts of Central Horn, and are paired together in the cataloges of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* at {3.1.1}. Further, these are two of the three thousand-districts that, according to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, were honoured for their efforts in the sack of the Chinese capital: 'among the subjects, Dor-te, Pyug-tshams, and Ste-'dzom [thousand-districts] were bestowed with the 'fruit of the lion' (*stagI thog-bu*) as a sign of their heroism' (*supra*, {3.1.7}). Dor-te, Pyug-tshams and Ste-'dzom are thousand-districts of Central Horn. That these three are found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* in connection with the invasion of China, along with the mention in the above passage of Dor-te and Phyug-mtshams' involvement with the lower regiment of heroes, is an important counter-example to Uray and Uebach's argument that the Tibetan state rigorously sought to break down regional and clan interests by shuffling soldiers into units made of disparate peoples (URAY AND UEBACH 1994). This seems to suggest that the opposite was true: three thousand-districts from Central Horn moved, perhaps *en masse*, to the Chinese border to participate in the campaign. If this included not just soldiers, but an entire infrastructure, then this policy would create large transfers of population not unlike those described in the context of the professionalisation of the Tang army in the mid-8$^{th}$ century. Likewise, this movement of peoples might create the duplication of place names as the settlers name their new territories after their traditional homes. In this connection, URAY (1991: 201), in his interpretation of this passage, appears to endorse Thomas' claim that Dor-de was located in the Northeast (*TLTD3*: 16), but this does not rule out the duplication of Dor-sde/ Dor-de through population transfer.

The *Chronicle*'s mention of Dor-te and Phyug-mtshams in connection with the sack of the Chinese capital may link the lower regiment of heroes to the early to mid-760s, significantly later than the dates proposed for the other regiments of heroes.

*KhG* states that Phyugs-mtshams is the 'son' of Ldong-stong, and *Lde'u* states this of both Dor-te and Phyug-'tshams. As noted at {2.7}, Ldong-Stong, as an Old Tibetan ethnonym, indicates more than the sum of its parts, the Ldong and Stong clans. In this sense, perhaps the intended meaning is that Phyugs-mtshams, which is not only a toponym, but a clan name, belonged to the Ldong-Stong ethnic group. Dor-te, however, is not a clan name, and the use of Phyug-'tshams with Dor-te suggests that we are here dealing with thousand-districts and not with clans. This being the case, it is most likely the case that Ldong-Stong is used here, as it is elsewhere in the *SLS*, simply to indicate a military population. Taken in this sense to mean 'martial', then the phrase 'son(s) of Ldong-Stong' is simply an epithet of bravery.

Regarding the location of the lower regiment, while *KhG* names 'A-zha districts, *Lde'u* names Bzhi-zha districts. Rather than providing an early reference to Xixia, this is likely nothing more than a transcription error.

The closing paragraph in *Lde'u* employs the term Ldong-Stong in much the same way as it is found in the verbal jousting of the songs in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* reviewed at {2.7}. Here *Lde'u* valourises the Ldong and Stong at the expense of the Rmu and Se. The pairing Se and Rmu usually indicates two of the proto-clans of Tibet, so it would seem here that Ldong and Stong should also be read in their capacity as proto-clans. In this case, however, the martial connotation of Ldong-Stong is also deployed simultaneously to emphasise their superiority to the Se and Rmu.

*Lde'u*'s closing forumula states that it has reached the end of the thirty-six legal statutes. At {3.5.3a}, *Lde'u* includes the six institutions as part of the thirty-six legal codes/ institutions, but only offers an incomplete catalogue of the six administrative chiefs. The closing formula here, however, indicates that *Lde'u* considers the preceding catalogues of the six institutions to be a part of the catalogues of the thirty-six legal codes/ thirty-six institutions. Attempting to 'nest' these six institutions in the catalogue of the thirty-six institutions would make section {3.5} unnecessarily cumbersome, and this would be compounded by the fact that the six legal codes are in fact a part of the thirty-six institutions as well. Further, it would ignore *KhG*'s tradition, which treats the six institutions and the thirty-six institutions separately.

## {3.8} A Return to the Catalogues Introduced in the Composite Outline

### Introduction {3.8}

According to *Jo sras*, the next catalogue should be the six 'qualities' (*rkyen*) of the superior, but as this has already been treated in the thirty-six institutions at {3.5.3}, it will not be revisited here. We will therefore proceed directly to the catalogue of the four kinds of pleasures at {3.8.2}.

### Translation and Transliteration {3.8.2}: the Four Kinds of Pleasures

***Jo sras* {3.8.2}**

The four kinds of pleasures: first, the pleasure of music and song and dance; [2] then the pleasure of the traditional sciences (*gtsug-lag*) and legal testaments (*thang-khrims*); [3] then the pleasure of sacred texts (*'phrul gyi yi-ge*); [4] then the pleasure of the true divine religion (*lha-chos*).

***Jo sras* {3.8.2}**

*mnyes pa rnam pa bzhi la/ dang po gla*[346] *gar dang rol mo mnyes/ de nas gtsug lag dang thang khrims mnyes de nas 'phrul gyi yi ge mnyes/ de nas dam pa'i lha chos mnyes so /* (*Jo sras*: 114).

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[346] Read *glu*.

## Analysis {3.8.2}

While the first of the four kinds of pleasures is transparent, the other three require some explanation. The translation of the second pleasure, that of *gtsug-lag*, depends on the interpretation of this pivotal term. MACDONALD (1971: 380-83) famously claimed that *gtsug-lag*/ *gtsug* was the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, based mostly on Confucianism. STEIN (2003 [1985]: 537) later critiqued Macdonald's views, and underlined the meaning of the term in Old Tibetan as tradition, morality, wisdom and political wisdom. In the political theory of early Tibet, *gtsug-lag*, along with good customs (*chos*), was seen as a precondition for maintaining a successful state (*supra*, *SLS* introduction). Most recently, KAPSTEIN (2006: 45-46) has read the term in this sense as an essential component of the Tibetan sacred kingship. The term was also used to refer to Buddhism, and translates the Sanskrit term *ārṣa*, meaning 'science'. In the context of the catalogue of the four pleasures, this latter interpretation seem most appropriate, although alternative interpretations should not be ruled out.

The 'traditional sciences' are paired with *thang-khrims*, which I have provisionally rendered as 'legal testaments'. The phrase *thang-khrims* literally means 'law of rank'. The catalogue obviously refers to highly cultivated activities, and among these is an appreciation for and knowledge of law.

The third type of pleasure is an appreciation for sacred texts (*'phrul gyi yi-ge*). As STEIN (1981: 260) demonstrated, *'phrul* means 'holy', 'sacred' or 'divine' in Old Tibetan, and was a synonym for *lha*. It is unlikely, therefore, that the third pleasure concerns 'magical texts'.

The final pleasure is that of the true divine religion (*dam-pa'i lha-chos*). As seen at {3.6.3}, *lha-chos* appears to refer to Buddhism throughout the *Section on Law and State*. The inclusion of the qualifier 'true' (*dam-pa'i*), which is most often employed in connection with Buddhism, further confirms that the final pleasure in the present catalogue is that of the Buddhist religion.

## Introduction {3.8.3}

While the seven and one half wise men form a catalogue in *Jo sras*, they are found in *Ne'u* as the seven wise men. This is due to the fact the *Jo sras* includes an eighth 'wise man', the Chinese princess Wen-cheng Kong-co, referred to here as Ong-cung. According to *Jo sras*, she is only counted as half a man because of her sex.

## Translation and Transliteration {3.8.3}: the Seven and One Half Wise Men

### *Jo sras* {3.8.3}

Concerning the seven and a half wise men, [1] the first was Ru-la-skyes, the child of *'dreng*. If one asks what his wise deeds were, he drilled holes into wood to create ploughs and yokes. Yoking together two [oxen], he ploughed the meadows and plains into fields. Before that there was no agriculture in Tibet.

[2] The second wise one was Khu Lha'u Mgo-dkar. He divided fields into *dor* and pasturelands into *thul*. He wrapped the night-water into small bundles (*mtshan chu thum-por btums*) and channelled the highland rivers into the lowlands. He bled

the lakes and ran them into canals. Before that, there was no [ploughing] in valleys lacking rivers and rain.

[3] The third wise one was Mthon-mi Bsam-po-ṭa. He created the consonants and vowels, the pure vowel, *na-ro*, the vertical line (*shad*) that separates [phrases] and the inter-syllabic dot (*tshag*) that separates syllables. Before that, there was no writing in Tibet.

[4] The fourth wise one was Snyags Khri-bzang Yang-ston. Further, he brought the mountain houses down into the valleys and built mountain strongholds. He ploughed the meadows and plains into fields and made the border strongholds into households. Before that, people's households were in the mountains.

[5] The fifth wise one was Khri-bzangs Yab-lhag. He instituted the royal guard of the four directions, and the rituals for the emperor (*sku'i rim-gro*). The sixty-one and one half thousand-districts engaged the enemies in battle. He created payments for blood money according to rank (*stong-thang*), and reduced the worries of later generations of ministers. Before that, there was no recompense for injury (*gsos-thang*) or death according to rank in Tibet.

[6] The sixth wise one was Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab. He used the weights and measures *phul* and *khyor* for all containers (*za-ma brungs su bzung*). Concerning trade, there was mutual happiness and enjoyment for both [buyer and seller]. Before that, there were no weights and measures in Tibet.

[7] The seventh wise one was Gnyer Stag-btsan Ldong-gzigs. He differentiated yak-cow hybrids (*mdzo*), *mdzo*-yak hybrids (*rtol-po*), calves and sheep. He allotted cows and oxen and livestock to every household. He made bales of straw, counted them in the summer and distributed them from the winter [onwards]. Before that, there was no law [allotting] livestock to each household.

[8] The eighth wise one, the Chinese lady Ong-chung, separated men's clothing and women's clothing, separated men's work and women's work, and associated the bow and arrow with the men and the spindle with the women. Before that, men and women's things were not separated. Because she is a woman, she is counted as half.

### *Jo sras* {3.8.3}

*'dzangs pa'i mi phyed brgyad la/ gcig tu 'dzangs pa 'dreng gi bu ru ma*[347] *skyes/ de yis 'dzangs pa'i las thabs ci byas na/ shing la bug pa phug nas gshol dang gnya' shing byas/ mthun gnyis gnya' ru sdebs nas spang thang zhing du rmos/ de'i gong na bod la lo thog med gnyis su 'dzangs pa khu lha'u mgo dkar yin te/ zhing gi dor dang 'brog gi thul du sdebs/ mtshan chu thum por btums nas phu chu mda' ru drangs/ mtsho la gtar kha byas nas yur ba kyus su btsal/ de'i gong na chu med char ma 'dol mo rmed/*[348] *gsum du 'dzangs pa mthon mi bsam poTa/ ka ka ki ki ku ku zhabs khyud*[349] *byas/ ra ra ri ri gtsang gi yig ma ro/ shad kyis bar bcad tshag gis smra bar byed/ de'i gong na bod la yig ge med/ bzhi ru 'dzangs pa snyags khri bzang yang ston yin/ de yang ri khyim lung du phab nas spo mtho mkhar du brtsigs/ spang thang zhing du smos nas dbye mtha' mkhar khyim byas/ de'i gong na mi khyim ri la 'dug/ lnga ru 'dzangs pa khring*[350] *bzangs yab lhag yin/ phyogs bzhi'i sku bsrungs btsud nas sku'i rim gro byas/ rgod kyi stong sde phyed rtsa gnyis dgra la rgol du bcug/ mi la stong thang bcad pas phyi rabs blon po thugs khral chung par byas/ de'i gong na bod la gsos dang stong thang med/ drug tu 'dzangs pa mon*[351] *khri to re snang tshab yin/ phul*

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[347] Read *la*.
[348] Read *med*.
[349] Read *kyu*.
[350] Read *khri*.
[351] Rerad *mong*.

*dang khyor gyis za ma brungs su bzung / dga' gnyis tshong byas 'thun gnyis la lung*[352] *spyod/ de'i gong na bod la bre srang med / bdun 'dzangs pa gnyer stag btsan ldong gzigs yin/ mdzo po rtol po be'u lug dgye ru sdebs/ ba re glang re rnag re khyim du rtsal rtsa la chun por byas nas dbyar rtsi dgun nas 'tshal/ de'i gong na phyugs na re khrims med/ brgyad du 'dzangs pa rgya mo ong chung gis/ gos la pho chas mo chas so sor phye/ las la pho las mo las so sor phye/ pho la mda' gzhu mo la 'phang cha gtad/ de'i gong na pho mo chas ma phyed/ bu med yin pas phyed du bzhag pa yin/* (*Jo sras*: 114-15).

### *Ne'u* {3.8.3}

Concerning the seven wise men from the time of the [three] religious kings (*rgyal mes dbon*), [1] the first was Gnyer Stag-tshal Ldong-gzigs. If one asks what his deeds were, he legislated cows, oxen, livestock, goats and sheep to every household. He made bales of straw, counted them in the summer and distributed in the winter. He transformed the meadows and plains into fields and built houses on their borders.[353] Before that, there was no agriculture or grazing in Tibet.

[2] The second wise one was the son of Mong, Khri-do-re Snang-tshab. If one asks what his deeds were, he systematised measurements according to *bre* and *srang*. He used the weights and measures *phul* and *khyor* to [measure] in a pair of baskets (*za-ma zung du bzung*). There was mutual happiness in trade, and people went about their work in mutual harmony. Before that, there were no weights and measures in Tibet.

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[352] Read *long*.
[353] *Jo sras* attributes this to Snyags Khri-bzang Yang-ston.

[3] The third wise one was the middle child (*'bring gi bu*), Ru-las-skyes. If one asks what his wise deeds were, melting stones with charcoal, he made gold, silver, copper and iron. He drilled holes into wood to create ploughs and yokes. Yoking together two [oxen], he ploughed the meadows and plains into fields. Before that, grains were few and there were no precious metals in Tibet.

[4] The fourth wise one was Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. If one asks what he did, he created the thirty consonants and vowels, the designations for words and the vertical line (*shad*) that marks off phrases. Before that, there was no writing in Tibet.

[5] The fifth wise one was the son of Khu, Lha-bu Mgo-dkar. If one asks what he did, he divided fields into *dor* and pasturelands into *thul*. He made the highland waters into bundles, and channelled the night waters into the day.[354] He bled the lakes and ran them into canals. Before that, there was no watering during the day.[355]

[6] The sixth wise one was Khri-bzangs Yab-lhag. If one asks what he did, he protected the four directions, and performed the rituals for the emperor (*sku'i rim-'gro*). The sixty-one and one half thousand-districts fought the external enemies. He created payments for blood money according to rank (*stong-thang*), and reduced the worries of later generations of ministers. Before that, there was no recompense for injury (*gsos-thang*) in Tibet.

[7] The seventh wise one was the son of Rngogs, Khri-bzangs Yab-brten. If one asks what he did, he brought the mountain houses down into the valleys and built mountain strongholds. He built houses at the edges of the fields. Before that, people held fast to the mountains.[356]

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[354] This is an obvious corruption, due perhaps to eye-skip, of *Jo sras*' 'he channelled the highland rivers into the lowlands'.
[355] The translation of *char ma nyin du 'debs* is uncertain. See also UEBACH 1987: 73.
[356] The translation of *ri kha'i do bo 'dzin* is uncertain.

## *Ne'u* {3.8.3}

*rgyal mes dbon gyi dus su bod du 'dzangs pa mi bdun byung ba ni: 1 tu 'dzangs pa gnyer stag tshal ldong gzigs yin: de yis las stabs ci byas na: ba re glang re gnag re ra lug khriMsu btsal:*[357] *rtswa la chun bu byas nas dbyar rtsi dgun du 'tshal: spang thang zhing du glog*[358] *nas de mthar khang khyiM rtsigs: de'i gong na bod la rtsi thog lo thog med: 2 su 'dzangs pa mong gi bu khri do re snang tshab yin*$_{t}$*e: de yis ci byas na: bre dang srang gis 'du bgod*[359] *rtsis su gsal: phul dang khyor gyis za ma zung du bzung: dga' 2 tshong byed: mthun 2 las la spyod: de'i gong na bod na bre srang med: 3 du 'dzangs pa 'breng gi bu ru las skyes yin: de yi*[360] *ci byas na: rdo las sol ba bzhu nas: gser dngul zangs lcags byas: shing la bug pa phug nas bshol*[361] *dang gnya' shing byas: mdzo glang dor du sdebs nas spang thang zhing du btab/ de'i gong na bod la 'bru nyung rin chen*[362] *med: bzhi pa 'dzangs pa thon mi saM bho ras*[363]*: de yis ci byas na: ka kha suM bcu gu*[364] *skyes byas: 'dogs dang sbrel gyis tshigs su bcad: shad kyis bcad nas tshig tu smra: de'i gong na bod la yi ge med: lnga ru 'dzangs pa khu'i bu lha bu 'go dkar yin: de yis ci byas na: zhing gi don*[365] *dang 'brog gi thul du sdebs: phu chu thuM bur byas nas: mtshan* $_{chu}$ *nyin du drangs: mtsho la gtar ka byas nas yur bu skyus*[366] *su btsud: de'i gong na char ma nyin du 'debs: drug tu 'dzangs pa khri bzangs yab lhag yin: de yi*[367] *ci byas na: phyogs 4'i bsrungs mas sku'i riM 'gro*

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[357] The editor, Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel, corrects this to *bcas*.
[358] The editor, and UEBACH (1987: 70) both correct this to *slog*.
[359] The editor corrects this to *'god*.
[360] Read *yis*.
[361] Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel corrects this to *gshol*.
[362] Abbreviated *rien*.
[363] Read *ṭas*.
[364] Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel corrects this to *gug*.
[365] Read *dor*.
[366] Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel corrects this to *dkyus*.
[367] Read *yis*.

*mdzad: rgod kyi stong sdes phyi'i dgra la rgol: mi'i stong thang bcad pas phyi rabs blon po thugs khral chung: de'i gong na bod la gsos stong med: bdun du 'dzangs pa rngogs kyi bu khri bzangs yab brten yin: de yi*[368] *ci byas na: ri khyiM lung*[369] *du phab: spo thon 'khar*[370] *du brtsigs: zhing mthar khang khyiM brtsigs: de'i gong na ri kha'i do bo 'dzino/* (*Ne'u*: 9-11; UEBACH 1987: 68-75, 4b7-5b2).

## Analysis {3.8.3}

The tradition of the seven wise men, or 'Tibet's seven magical and wise ministers', (*bod yul 'phrul blon mdzangs-pa'i mi bdun*) is also found in *KhG*, but rather than being gathered into a single catalogue, these seven figures and their deeds are scattered throughout the text according to its narrative chronology. These will be considered alongside the catalogues of *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* in the following analysis.

The first of *Jo sras*' wise men, Ru-la-skyes, is a central character in the myth of Dri-gum/ Gri-gum Btsan-po. According to *KhG*'s version of this legend, after Lo-ngam killed Gri-gum Btsan-po, he banished Gri-gum's three sons, married Gri-gum's daughter, and sent Gri-gum's wife to take up his own former position as horse groom (*rta-dzi*). Ru-las-skyes is the central character in this myth, and his name is explained as follows:

> Lo-ngam took Lha-gcig (the boys' sister) as his wife, and assigned to the mother of the four siblings the position of groom (*rta-rdzi*). She went out to tend the horses, and falling asleep she dreamed that she had sex with a handsome white man. When she woke, she saw a white yak going away. When the months were complete, she gave birth to a moving vapour of blood. She placed it in a warm wild-yak horn and sprinkled it with milk. The heat

[368] Read *yis*.
[369] Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel corrects this to *klung*.
[370] Ldan-lhun Sangs-rgyas Chos-'phel corrects this to *mkhar*.

> warmed it, and from within there came a beautiful and handsome boy. He was called 'Born from the Horn' (Ru-las-skyes) and 'Self-nurtured' (Ngar-sos-po). (*lo ngam gyis ni lha gcig chung mar bzung// lcam sring bzhi yi yum la rta rdzi bcol// rta 'tshor phyin te gnyid log rmi lam du// mi dkar mdzes pa cig dang bshos pa rmis// sad tshe g.yag dkar zhig ni song ba mthong// zla ba tshang nas khrag rlangs 'gul ba btsas// 'brong ru dron mor bcug nas 'o mas bran// drod kyis btsos pas de yi nang nas ni// khye 'u mdzes cing lta na sdug pa byung// ru las skyes dang ngar sos po ces btags//*) (*KhG*: 162).

Ru-las-skyes goes on to recover Gri-gum Btsan-po's corpse, defeat Lo-ngam and install one of Gri-gum's sons on the throne.

The two names given this magical child, Ru-las-skyes and Ngar-sos-po, are interesting in light of the earliest known version of this myth, which constitutes the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. There Ru-la-skyes is a divine son (*lha-bu*), and the figurehead of the Bkrags Clan (PT 1287, l. 26). This clan, along with Ru-la-skyes, is annihilated by the Rhya Clan, except for one pregnant woman, who subsequently gives birth to a child known as Ngar-le-skyes (PT 1287, ll. 27-30; *DTH*: 98, 125). It is this boy—who is never called Ru-las-skyes—who serves as the model for the character Ru-las-skyes in subsequent versions of the myth.

Intriguingly, *KhG* traces the ethnogenesis of the Khu clan to Ru-las-skyes:

> The king [Bya-khri/ Pu-te Gung-rgyal] said, 'You, Ru-las-skyes, best of men, acted in the manner of a father by raising [me] to the throne, and acted in the manner of a son by tending to the blood of my father. All men great and small envy you. Thus I give you the name Paternal Uncle Divine Son Object of Aspiration (Khu-bo Lha-bu Smon-gzung).' He thoroughly repaid his kindness. It is said that the king, having lost his paternal uncle, gave [Ru-las-skyes] the clan name 'paternal uncle' (Khu). This is Ru-las-skyes, who became the earliest of Tibet's seven magical and wise ministers. (*rgyal pos mi mchog ru las skyes khyod kyis// nga yi yab kyi go bgyis rgyal sar bton// sras kyi go bgyis yab kyi sku mtshal gnyer// che chung med pa'i mi kun khyod la smon// ming yang khu bo lha bu smon gzungs zhes// btags shing drin du gzo ba rgya cher byas// rgyal pos khu bor bas khu'i rus su thogs skad// bod yul 'phrul blon mdzangs pa'i mi bdun gyi// thog nar gyur pa ru las skyes 'di yin//*) (*KhG*: 163-64).

*KhG* (164) adds to the deeds of Ru-las-skyes listed in *Jo sras* and *Ne'u* that he first burned wood in order to make charcoal, which he used to extract precious metals from stones, and states that he built bridges over rivers that could not be crossed.

This passage connects with the second of the seven wise ones by revealing that Khu Lha-bu Mgo-dkar was the son of Ru-las-skyes (*KhG*: 165). Regarding Khu's deeds, *Jo sras, Ne'u* and *KhG* agree that he divided fields into *dor* and pasturelands into *thul*. These units are also mentioned in the outline to the *SLS*: '{2.24} they divided the pastures (*'brog*) into *thul* and {2.25} they laid out the fields (*zhing*) into *the-gu*'. There is obviously a division here between agricultural and pastoral units. The former, *dor*, are referred to in *KhG* as *dor-kha*. PT 1078, an Old Tibetan document concerning a land dispute, states in one place, 'five and one half *dor* of crop fields are tallied as six, and...' (*rkya zhing dor phyedang drug drug mnyam bar khram du btab las/*) (PT 1078, l. 16). The text goes on to list the measurements of several other fields, in *dor*, according to the register of the field records (*zhing-yig dkar-cag*). BTSAN-LHA (1997: 335-36) draws on a passage from an Old Tibetan document to define *dor-ka* as arable land (*sa-zhing*). This is rather vague, and the passage above implies that *dor*/ *dor-ka* is a specific measure of land, such as an acre.

The term *the-gu*, found in the outline as a unit for agricultural fields, suggests units of fifty: *the* can mean 'one hundred', and *gu* is diminutive, so the phrase may mean 'little hundreds', or 'fifties'. The question remains, however, 'fifties' of what? The pastoral unit, *thul*, is explained by Ives Waldo's dictionary as 'a long ago Tibetan name for a herd of cattle with a certain number'. Considering the nomadic nature of the Tibetan pastoral livelihood, a unit of livestock makes far more sense than a land unit, unless that land unit is measured by the size of a herd it can support.

The rest of the passage associates Khu Lha-bu Mgo-dkar with the introduction of irrigation, perhaps the most essential technology on the arid Tibetan plateau. Khu Lha-bo Mgo-gar appears third in the 'Succession of Prime Ministers' that constitutes chapter two of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, placing him very early on in Tibetan history. While both *Jo sras* and *KhG* regard him as the second wise man, *Ne'u* places him fifth. Likewise, *Ne'u* places Ru-las-skyes third instead of first. *Ne'u* places Thon-mi Sambhoṭa between these two in the fourth spot, while *Jo sras* place this most famous minister third. *KhG* places him fourth, and has the son of Mong, Khri-ngor Snang-btsun in the third place as the creator of Tibet's weights and measures (*KhG*: 171). As a result, the order in the catalogues diverges from this point onward.

The fourth wise one in *Jo sras*, Snyags Khri-bzang Yang-ston, is counted fifth in *KhG* (184), and is seventh in *Ne'u*'s catalogue, which refers to him as 'the son of Rngogs, Khri-bzangs Yab-brten'. MACDONALD (1971: 288, n. 148) has demonstrated that Rngegs was later transcribed as Gnyags, and I have shown elsewhere the likely identity of Rngogs with Rngegs (DOTSON 2003: 64). The present catalogues further suggest this connection by identifying Snyags with Rngogs. His deeds, namely, bringing Tibetan residence patterns into line with the development of agriculture, require no analysis.

*Jo sras*' fifth wise one, Mgos Khri-bzangs Yab-lhag, is named sixth in both *KhG* and *Ne'u*. This prime minister and his career have been discussed in some detail at {3.3.2a} in connection with his revision of the Tibetan legal system and compensation payments for death, where his tenure as prime minister was dated to between 763 and c.775. While the tradition preserved at {3.3.2a} states that Mgos revised these institutions, the present catalogue claims that he created them. Given the composite nature of the *SLS*, the presence of such contradictions should by now be

less than surprising. The present catalogue's claim that he created the royal guard regiments is particularly interesting, as it would seem to provide a valuable clue for dating the introduction of the royal guard regiments. As noted at {3.3.1b}, however, these existed by the year 708, when they are mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

The present catalogue suggests that Mgos was also instrumental in the reorganisation of the thousand-districts at this time. Indeed the mention of the 'sixty-one and one half thousand-districts' in the present catalogue would seem to make just such a claim. Given that the present catalogue's claim that Mgos created the royal guard regiments has been discredited, its other claims should be viewed with some scepticism.

The mention of Mgos' introduction of 'rituals for the emperor' (*sku'i rim-'gro*) seems out of place in the context of technological innovations, but is interesting nonetheless, as it relates to rituals that informed Tibet's divine kingship.

The sixth wise one in *Jo sras* is Mong Khri-to-re Snang-tshab, who is credited with the introduction of weights and measures. As noted above, *KhG* (171) counts the son of Mong, Khri-ngor Snang-btsun as the third wise minister, and places him in the reign of Stag-bu Snya-gzigs. *Ne'u*, meanwhile, places him second in the catalogue. This minister's career is to be placed in the reign of Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan, and is outlined in the analysis of the preamble to the *SLS* at {1}. *Jo sras*' s placement of Mong in the catalogue after Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag demonstrates that the list is out of chronological order.

Mong's technological innovations, the institution of weights and measures, have been discussed in some detail at (3.6.2}.

The seventh wise one in *Jo sras*, Gnyer Stag-btsan Ldong-gzigs, also appears as the seventh and final wise minister in *KhG* (377), where he is announced just after

Mgos Khri-bzang Yab-lhag. *Ne'u*, however, counts him as the first of Tibet's seven wise men. His deeds are particularly fascinating, as he seems to have introduced a type of social welfare system by allotting livestock to every household.

*Jo sras* is the only one of the three sources that includes an eighth wise man, 'counted as half because she is a woman'. As noted at {3.3.6b}, this catalogue overlaps with a law created by Lady 'Bro Byang-chub, a wife of Khri Srong-lde-btsan who supposedly became a nun after the death of her son. In the present catalogue, Ong-chung indicates Wen-cheng Kong-co, the Chinese princess who came to Tibet in 641 as the bride of Khri Gung-srong. It is interesting that the association of the bow and arrow with the man and the spindle with the woman is attributed here to her, as the arrow and the spindle as symbols of man and woman, particularly in the marital context, would seem to be ancient 'indigenous' traditions in Tibet. The mythology surrounding this princess grew to encompass several deeds, many of which are plainly apocryphal, and it is tempting to regard the present catalogue as just such an offering to the legacy of this Chinese princess.

# {4} The Religious Law (*chos-khrims*)

## Introduction {4}

After *Lde'u*'s enumeration of the combined ministerial laws (*blon-khrims snol-ma*) at {3.6.3}—the end of the catalogues of the *SLS* in *Lde'u*—we find the statement, 'That is the account of the ways in which the royal law (*rgyal-khrims*) was created'. The exact point of reference of this quotation regarding the creation of the royal law is unclear. It appears only to refer to the catalogue of the combined ministerial laws, but it could conceivably apply to the entirety of the *Section on Law and State* that precedes it. The following passage follows on immediately from this quotation and concerns the religious laws (*chos-khrims*). As noted in the introduction, there is a tradition according to which Srong-btsan Sgam-po created the royal laws in his youth and the religious laws in his old age, and this is found in *Jo sras*' brief closing formula.

## Translation and Transliteration {4}

### *Lde'u* {4}

As for the manner in which the religious law (*chos-khrims*) was created, according to the source (*gzhung*), 'China, Tibet, Nepal (Bal-po) and Zhang-zhung, the four, became affinal relatives (*gnyen*). The 'Phrul-snang and so forth were built upon the introduction of the religious law, one hundred and eight [temples] were created or erected, and he himself created forty-two.' So it says. The Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, support

of the [three] jewels (*dkon-cog*), the Chinese Ra-mo-che and Brag-rtse, these three, were built as the very heart of the tutelary divinity. [Srong-btsan sgam-po] invited the Chinese emanation, Ong-cong, and invited the Nepalese lady, Khri-btsun, daughter of King 'Bri-lo-ha, from Nepal. He invited Lig-tig-sman, daughter of Li-mig-skya, king of Zhang-zhung, and married the Tibetan lady Mong-bza' Khri-lcam. This is explained in detail in the *Bka' chems*.

**Lde'u {4}**

*chos khrims bcas lugs bstan pa ni/ bzhung las/ rgya bod bal po zhang zhung bzhi dang gnyen/ /chos khrims srol gtod 'phrul la sogs bzhengs te/ /brgya rtsa brgyad 'debs dam bcas nyid kyis zhe gnyis bzhengs/ /zhes pa sangs rgyas dkon cog gi rten ra sa 'phrul snang dang / rgya stag*[371] *ra mo che dang / brag rtse gsum thugs dam gyi yang snying du bzhengs te/ rgya nag 'phrul gyi ong cong spyan drangs/ bal yul nas rgyal po 'bri lo ha'i sras mo bal mo bza' khri btsun spyan drangs/ zhang zhung gi rgyal po li mig skya'i sras mo lig tig sman spyan drangs bod kyi jo mo mong bza' khri lcam khab tu bzhes te/ rgyas par bka' chems su shes par bya'o/* (*Lde'u*: 276-77).

**Jo sras {4}**

Then, in the latter part of his life, the king attained the status of a *dharmarāja*, and introduced the religious law.

**Jo sras {4}**

*de nas rgyal pos tshe smad la chos kyi rgyal po'i sa bzung nas chos khrims kyi srol bstod de/* (*Jo sras*: 115).

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[371] Read *btags*.

## Analysis {4}

The text in *Lde'u* goes on to catalogue the many temples built by Srong-btsan Sgam-po, but this is outside of the remit of the *Section on Law and State*. In fact, neither *Lde'u* nor *Jo sras* have much to say on the topic of the religious laws themselves, and the above formulas mark the end of the *SLS* in both sources.

It should be remarked that the statement that the 'Phrul-snang, Ra-mo-che and Brag-rtse were built 'as the very heart of the tutelary divinity' has a double meaning. Yes, these became the *thugs-dam* temples of the rulers as privileged symbols of their divinity, but they were also built *on* the very heart of the supine demoness that symbolised Tibet in its uncivilised, non-Buddhist aspect.[372] This double entendre is a succinct demonstration of the transformative power of Buddhism whereby the obstacles to religion become its foundation.

[372] For an excellent analysis of temples built during the imperial period and the historiographic tradition surrounding temple building, including the myth of the supine demoness, see SØRENSEN AND HAZOD 2005: 171-216.

# {5} Concluding Verse

## Introduction {5}

Only *KhG* contains a concluding verse. It is formulaic and similar in content to the outline of the *SLS*, with which it overlaps in places. This paean seems not to be part of the *SLS* proper, but Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag's own invention, and is marked off in nine-syllable verse.

## Translation and Transliteration {5}

### *KhG* {5}

Thus the eastern men of the grasslands and woodsmen, the barbarians (*klo*) and southerners (*mon*) from the south, the Zhang-zhung and Turks from the west and the Hor and Uighur from the north were gathered as subjects. [Srong-btsan Sgam-po] governed half of the world. The bliss and happiness [caused by] the firm law of the ten virtues was equal to that of the gods.

[Begin nine-syllable verse] Likewise, after this the good, firm, all-benefiting law forcefully and truly bound [the subjects]. The wild animals comprised the king's wealth, and goats, sheep, calves and so forth were left to the side. Toll-posts (*la-btsas*) were built on the passes and boats crossed the great rivers. The lord's firm orders pleased and gladdened the subjects. The king's polity increased like a lake in summer. The males were brave, the horses fast, and the enjoyment equalled [that of] the gods. [They] put their trust in religion, and thus were happy. Understanding everyone to be

their parents, there were no disputes.[373] Reading and writing flourished, and thereby all people entered the religious way (*chos la 'jug*). The wicked and friendless found the jewel of the ten virtues. Through the deeds of the incarnation [Srong-btsan Sgam-po], there were no taxes or corvée labour. The nectar of timely rainfall caused the various seeds to grow. The leaves bloomed on the branches of all of the trees, and the birds sang carefree and melodious sounds. The bliss and happiness of the people of the land of Tibet was equal to [that of] the gods.

### *KhG* {5}

*de ltar shar rtsa mi shing mi lho nas klo dang mon nub nas zhang zhung dang gru gu byang nas hor dang yu gur rmans 'bangs su 'dus/ dzam gling gi phyed la kha lo bsgyur/ dge bcu'i khrims btsan bde skyid lha dang mnyam pa yin no/ /de ltar 'di phyi kun tu phan pa yi/ /bzang po'i btsan khrims gnyan shing dam par bsdams/ /ri dags rnams ni rgyal po'i dkor nor mdzad/ /re*[374] *lug be'u la sogs rang yan gtong / /la la btsas brtsigs chu chen gru yis bcad/ /rje yi bka' btsan 'bangs rnams bde zhing skyid/ /rgyal po'i chab srid dbyar gyi mtsho ltar 'phel/ /pho dpa' rta mgyogs longs spyod lha dang mnyam/ /blo gtad chos la byas pas 'di phyir skyid/ /thams cad pha mar shes pas thab*[375] *rtsod med/ /bri klog dar bas mi kun chos la 'jug /sdig pa'i grogs med dge bcu'i nor bu rnyed/ /sprul pa'i mdzad pas khral dang 'u lag med/ /char chu dus 'bab rtsi bcud 'bru tshogs 'phel/ /ljon shing thams cad yal ga lo 'dab rgyas/ /bya rnams bag phebs snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs 'byin/ /bod yul mi rnams bde skyid lha dang mtshungs/* (*KhG*: 194; 22b, l. 7-23a, l. 4).

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373 This appears to refer to the Buddhist doctrine of regarding all beings as having been at one time, or having the potential to be, one's mother.
374 Read *ra*.
375 Read *'thab*.

## Analysis {5}

In *KhG*, Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag employs nine-syllable verse to introduce and conclude each section or chapter of his narrative. These generally consist of a poetic reformulation of the narrative. Not all of the nine-syllable verse in *KhG* is Dpa'-bo's own, however, as some such verse originates from quotations from the *Lo rgyus chen mo* and other sources. The above verse makes for a picturesque ending to the *SLS*, and underlines its meaning for Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag, and, by extension, the intended meaning for the reader.

The poetic evocation of the relationship of the good law and of religion with the well-being of the realm and the fertility of the fields is a fitting way to end the *SLS*, as this too has its roots in early Tibetan concepts of divine kingship.

# Conclusions

The foregoing analysis of the *Section on Law and State* demonstrates that while the post-dynastic Tibetan historical tradition attributes this entire body of legal and administrative reforms to Srong-btsan Sgam-po, the individual legal and administrative catalogues contained in the *SLS*, when subjected to close analysis, can be dated to several different periods. One of the principal concerns of this analysis has been to underline the Old Tibetan antecedents for the catalogues contained in the *Section on Law and State*. As stated in the introduction, the sources for the *SLS*, mediated through early histories such as the *Bka' thang chen mo* and others, were the contemporary accounts and manuals of administrative practice extant during the imperial period. In some places, such as the catalogues of the nine *bkra* at {3.3.2a}, the nine great ones (*che*) at {3.3.2b} and the six seals (*phyag-rgya*) at {3.5.5}, the Old Tibetan antecedents for these structures are explicit. In other places, however, the structures themselves, in the numeric order given in the *SLS*, remain unattested. In these instances, the contents themselves have been the starting point for an analysis that relates them to imperial Tibetan practices. This analysis, by relating the catalogues of the *Section on Law and State* to Old Tibetan sources, even when there is not necessarily any direct link, describes in detail the legal and administrative practices of the Tibetan Empire. Among the topics covered by this analysis are historical geography and the 'nationalisation' of clan territory, social stratification, technological innovation and legal culture. The *Section on Law and State* is not limited solely to law and administration, however, and also offers insights regarding cultural institutions such as religious practices and Tibetan funerary culture.

Its Old Tibetan antecedents aside, the *Section on Law and State* is a record of its authors' political concerns, and it encodes some of their views about rulership. This is particularly interesting in constructions such as 'the pair', consisting of the 'body' (*sku*) of the emperor and the polity (*chab-srid*), which has distinct echoes in the European Christian theories concerning the 'king's two bodies'. The 'constitutional' and political concerns of these authors indeed accounts for the existence of *the Section on Law and State* as an organised amalgamation of early bureaucratic documents and manuals, and the subsequent development of this tradition as attested in *Jo sras, Lde'u* and *KhG*. Without their concern with such matters as kingship and political theory, viewed from the perspective of their own respective ages, these authors would never have bothered to preserve and elaborate the *Section on Law and State*. Their project, moreover, is fully consonant with the earliest narrative history of Tibet, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which I have returned to time and time again in this analysis as a royalist document concerned with the promotion of the sacred kingship and the ruler's divine prerogatives.

While several of the catalogues included in the *Section on Law and State* can be related to Old Tibetan antecedents, the Old Tibetan documents that contain similar information are most often undated. It has been possible, however, to date some of the catalogues of the *SLS* during the course of this analysis. To review, those catalogues that could be dated are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| mid-630s | The catalogue of the six administrative chiefs (*khos-dpon/ khod-dpon*) at {3.5.3a} |
| late-7th century | The catalogue of the three regiments of heroes at {3.7.6} |
| pre-702 | (latter half of 7th century) The catalogues of thousand-districts in *GK* and *LDGR* at {3.3.1b} |
| pre-702 | (latter half of 7th century) The catalogue of the eighteen shares of power in *KhG* at {3.7.5} |
| post-702 | (most likely 705-725) The administrative arrangement of territories in *Lde'u* at {3.7.5} |
| 702-744 | The catalogues of thousand-districts in *Ne'u* and *Jo sras* at {3.3.1b} |

| | |
|---|---|
| 744-763 | (most likely mid-750s) The catalogues of thousand-districts in *BK* at {3.3.1b} |
| 744-763 | (most likely 758-763) The catalogues of thousand-districts in *KhG* and *Lde'u* at {3.3.1b}. |
| c.754-763 | (most likely 760-763) The catalogue of the three (classificatory) maternal uncles and the minister at {3.7.4} |
| 763-c.775 | The catalogue of the nine types of wooden slips used in legal cases at {3.3.2a} |
| 763-c.775 | The catalogue of the proper payment of blood money according to rank at {3.3.2b} |
| post-779 | (most likely early to mid-ninth century) The catalogue of the four great ones, five with the *ring* at {3.1.6}. |
| post-779 | (most likely early to mid-ninth century) The catalogue of the six 'qualities' (*ring*) at {3.5.3b} |

Several other catalogues contain datable material or refer to datable figures and events, but include information from several different periods. Among these are the catalogue of the four ministers at {3.1.5}, the catalogue of the eight 'profits' at {3.3.2b} and the catalogue of the eight temples built to carry away sins at {3.3.3c}. Apart from these, other catalogues can be dated only vaguely, such as the six legal codes at {3.6}, which may relate to the laws of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan or Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Do-rje. Parts of these codes, such as the 'sixteen pure codes of human conduct' (*mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug*) based on the ten virtues, go back to the ninth century, and are found in Gnyan Dpal-dbyangs' letter that dates to that time.

Due to the fact that the *Section on Law and State* contains scattered catalogues pertaining to several different aspects of the Tibetan Empire, it may be useful to review its contributions thematically.

The *Section on Law and State* is particularly detailed in issues relating to historical geography. In the analysis of the eighteen shares of power, it was argued that this was one of the Tibetan Empire's earliest attempts to 'nationalise' clan territory, or more accurately, to ratify pre-existing associations between clans and their territories within newly-created imperial divisions of territory. This dynamic is evident as well in the association of clans with particular thousand-districts.

The analysis sheds new light on Tibet's tradition of thousand-districts, revealing the existence of essentially four separate traditions of catalogues dating to four separate periods, from the latter half of the seventh century to 763. The latest catalogues include Sum-pa's Horn and Zhang-zhung, but it is evident that there were also thousand-districts—and indeed ten-thousand-districts (*khri-sde*) that belonged to Bde-blon-khams, a province in Eastern Tibet subordinate to Mdo-khams. Further, there were thousand-districts within the military governments (*khrom*) on Tibet's borders.

The *SLS* also includes a thorough treatment of imperial Tibet's system of ranks and reveals aspects of its social stratification. The ministerial aristocracy (*zhang-blon, dku-rgyal*) are distinguished by their insignia of rank, from turquoise down to copper. Over and above this system of insignia, the *ke-ke-ru* insignia was bestowed only on extremely rare occasions. Above the ministerial aristocracy are the minor kings (*rgyal-phran*), the royal family and the emperor himself. Below the ministerial aristocracy, the commoners (*dmangs*) are less stratified.

The order of rank in Tibetan officialdom is mirrored in the military chain of command. Here, officers are distinguished by martial symbols, generally having to do with tigers. The Tibetan military was generally divided into commanding officers, distinguished soldiers/ officer class and troops.

Social stratification is nowhere more evident than in early Tibet's legal culture, where payments of blood money were standardised according to the status of the victim. The legal process itself also reveals a chain of command, whereby local officials, the first legal port of call, are subordinate to higher ranking officials such as the 'honesty official' (*drang-dpon*), the justices (*bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa*) and the judges (*zhal-lce-pa*). This further reveals a dynamic of centralisation, whereby, failing a

resolution at the village level, decisions made at the centre are implemented on the periphery.

The *Section on Law and State* also records a good deal of technological and cultural innovation. While this is mostly confined to the catalogue of Tibet's seven and one half wise men, technological advancements are also found, for example, in the law of 'Bum-gser-thog Sha-ba-can at {3.6.2}, which standardised Tibet's weights and measures.

Some of the catalogues also reveal information about religious and cultural practices. Those catalogues that refer to the divine religion (*lha-chos*) invariably indicate Buddhism throughout the *SLS*. At {3.5.3b}, this characterises the upper classes, while oaths and invocations (or *thags* and *bon*) characterise the lower classes. The importance of oaths is stressed elsewhere in connection with dishonesty. The presence of such institutions with the *Section on Law and State* is a testament to its comprehensive nature.

One particularly fascinating aspect of the *SLS* is its contribution to our knowledge of Old Tibetan funerary culture. The catalogues of the three regiments of heroes, which likely date to the late seventh century, contain several funerary images relating to soldiers who expect to die in battle. Among these are their last wills and testaments, their meals of funerary food and their donning of the *tsha-lob*, which is a worn garment in this context associated with the journey to the afterlife. Another catalogue, that of the five types of soldiers at {3.3.6b}, deals with the funeral rites and tombs of military ministers, and contains interesting information regarding the items interred in the tombs. Another part of this same catalogue reveals the existence of a 'mourning tax', whereby subjects were forced to be present, and presumably aid in, the construction of a Tibetan emperor's tomb.

Taken together, the scattered and fragmentary catalogues that make up the *Section on Law and State*, many of which ultimately derive from manuals and official records from the imperial period, furnish important and detailed information about the legal and administrative culture of the Tibetan Empire and its social history. The preservation of such documents within Tibet's post-dynastic religious histories underlines the persistence of Tibetan political theory, according to which divine rulers, Buddhist or otherwise, must govern according to the 'good law'.

# Appendices

## Appendix One: The Royal Succession

The dates of the royal succession are determined based on the *Old Tibetan Annals*, pillar inscriptions and the *Tang Annals*. The *Old Tibetan Annals* covers the years from 650 to 763, with seven years missing from 747 to 755, and dates that fall during this period are by far the most reliable. Where dates are contested I have given references in footnotes. Where possible, the dates of an emperor's life are given as well.

| | |
|---|---|
| mid to late-6th century | Stag-bu Snya-gzigs |
| late-6th to early-7th centuries | Gnam-ri Slon-mtshan |
| early-7th century to c.640 | Khri Srong-btsan (Srong-btsan Sgam-po) (c.605-649)[376] |
| c.640-c.646 | Khri Gung-srong Gung-rtsan (died c.646) |
| c.646-649 | Second reign of Khri Srong-btsan |
| 649-676 | Khri Mang-slon Mang-rtsan (c. 643-676) |
| 685-704 | Khri Dus-srong (676-704) |
| 704-705 | Lha Bal-po |
| 712-c.754 | Khri Lde-gtsug-btsan (704-c.754) |
| 756-c.797 | Khri Srong-lde-btsan (742-c. 800) |
| c.797-c.798 | Mu-ne-btsan (died c.798) |
| c.798-c.800 | Second reign of Khri Srong-lde-btsan; rules with chosen successor Lde-srong/ Khri Lde-srong-btsan (d. 815) |
| c.800-c.802 | Mu-rug-btsan (died c. 804) seizes throne from Khri Lde-srong-btsan upon their father's death |
| c.802-815 | 'Second' reign of Khri Lde-srong-btsan; Mu-rug-btsan is subordinate to his younger brother, then dies c.804[377] |
| 815-841 | Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (d. 841) |
| 841-842 | Khri U'i Dum-brtan[378] |
| c.846-c.893 | Khri 'Od-srung (c.842/843-c.893)[379] |

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[376] For the date of Srong-btsan Sgam-po's birth, see *supra*, {1} and HAZOD 2000a: 174-75.
[377] The dates and the order of events surrounding Khri Srong-lde-btsan's immediate successors is discussed in DOTSON *forthcoming c*.
[378] On the validity of these dates and those of Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan, see YAMAGUCHI 1996: 250 and IMAEDA 2001: 31.
[379] For a discussion of 'Od-srung's dates, see VITALI 1996: 541-47.

## Appendix Two: Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *dkar-chag* | record, manual, inventory {*SLS* introduction} |
| *dkar-mi* | 'juror(s)' {3.3.2a} |
| *dku-rgyal* | aristocracy; lit. 'overcomer of intrigue' {3.3.5} |
| *bka' yo-gal 'chos-pa* | judge, 'justice' {3.3.2b} |
| *sku-rgyal* | aristocracy; probably a folk-etymology for *dku-rgyal* {3.3.5} |
| *khab-so* | revenue office {*SLS* introduction, 3.6.6} |
| *khrom* | military government {3.3.2b} |
| *blo-yus* | complainant, plaintiff {3.3.2a} |
| *yus-bdag* | complainant, plaintiff {3.3.2a} |
| *stong-thang* | level compensation price for death; blood money {3.3.2a} |
| *shags kyi mgo rgyangs* | defendant, accused (lit. 'the one faced with the charge') {3.3.2a} |
| *mi-stong* | compensation price, blood money {3.3.2a} |
| *zhal-ce/ zhal-ces/ zhal-lce* | legal case, stage in a legal case, law {3.4.2} |
| *zhal-ce-pa/ zhal-ces-pa/ zhal-lce-pa* | judge {3.3.2a} |
| *zhang-lon/ zhang-blon* | minister, ministerial aristocracy, landed gentry {3.3.2a} |
| *bu-po-spad* | sons and their descendants {3.3.2a} |
| *pha-spun-spad* | patrilateral parallel cousins and their descendants {3.3.2a} |
| *khyo-mo* | wife {3.3.2a} |
| *ma-yar-mo/ ma-g.yar-mo* | step-mother, lit. 'borrowed mother' {3.3.2a} |
| *phu-nu* | clan {3.3.2a} |
| *bu-tsha/ sras-dbon* | lineage {3.3.2a} |
| *bran* | bondservant {3.3.2a} |
| *dmangs* | commoner {3.3.2b} |
| *'bangs* | subject {3.3.2a} |
| *yi-ge/ yig-tshang* | insignia of rank, epaulets {3.3.5} |
| *phra-men* | gold-plated silver {3.3.5} |
| *gtsang-chen/ gtsang-chen-pa* | one rank below ministerial aristocracy {3.3.5} |
| *'dam-po* | legal advocate, prosecutor (?) {3.3.6} |
| *smras-pa* | legal advocate {3.3.6} |
| *mun-mag/ mun-dmag* | soldier, conscripted soldier {3.4.3} |
| *rtsis-mgo* | manual, protocols, record {*SLS* introduction} |
| *zhal-mchu* | law, statute {3.4.2} |
| *zho-sha* | gifts, bribes, contributions; lit. 'curd and meat' {3.5.1} |
| *gson-stong* | punishment for injury {3.6.3} |
| *gsos-thang* | level compensation price for injury {3.3.2a} |

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| | |
|---|---|
| PT 239 | An Old Tibetan funerary text. |
| PT 997 | The inventory of Yu-lim Gtsug-lag-khang. |
| PT 1038 | An Old Tibetan text containing three theories on the origin of the Tibetan emperors. |
| PT 1042 | An Old Tibetan funerary text. |
| PT 1060 | A ritual text involving horses, and containing a catalogue of principalities. |
| PT 1067 | An Old Tibetan catalogue that mentions nine *bkra* and nine *che* {3.3.2a}. |
| PT 1101 | An Old Tibetan tax record. |
| PT 1071 | Laws regulating hunting accidents. |
| PT 1072 | Fragments of laws regulating hunting accidents. |
| PT 1073 | Laws concerning the dog bite. |
| PT 1075 | Laws concerning theft. |
| PT 1078 | An Old Tibetan document concerning a land dispute. |
| PT 1083 | Petition by Chinese residents of Sha-cu for racial endogamy. |
| PT 1089 | Petition regarding the order of rank in Sha-cu. |
| PT 1217 | An Old Tibetan document that refers to *stagi zar-cen* and *yo-gal 'cospa*. |
| PT 1286 | The *Royal Genealogy*, properly a part of the *Chronicle*. |
| PT 1287 | The *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. |
| PT 1288 | Part of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, 'civil version'. |
| PT 1290 | Fragmentary text containing coronation of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, a catalogue of principalities and information about messengers. |
| IOL Tib J 370(5) | 'The dharma (sūtra) that came down from heaven'. |
| IOL Tib J 506 | An Old Tibetan document that lists seven types of seals. |
| IOL Tib J 731 | Funerary text with little Buddhist influence. |
| IOL Tib J 740 | Legal document entitled 'Replies concerning the dice statutes from the tiger year dice edict'. The first part of the scroll contains a divination text. |
| IOL Tib J 750 | Part of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, 'civil version'. |
| IOL Tib J 751 | Prayers of De-ga G.yu-mtshal. Also contained in PT 16. |
| IOL Tib J 753 | Laws concerning theft. |
| IOL Tib J 1284 | 'Chronicle Fragments' pertaining to Khyung-po Spung-sad Zu-tse. |
| M.Tagh c. I. 0030 | Wooden slip recording the military punishment of a rapist. |
| Or. 8218 | *Old Tibetan Annals*, 'military version'. Covers 743-747, 755-763. |
| Tak 370 | Old Tibetan document from Miran that mentions insignia of rank. |

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